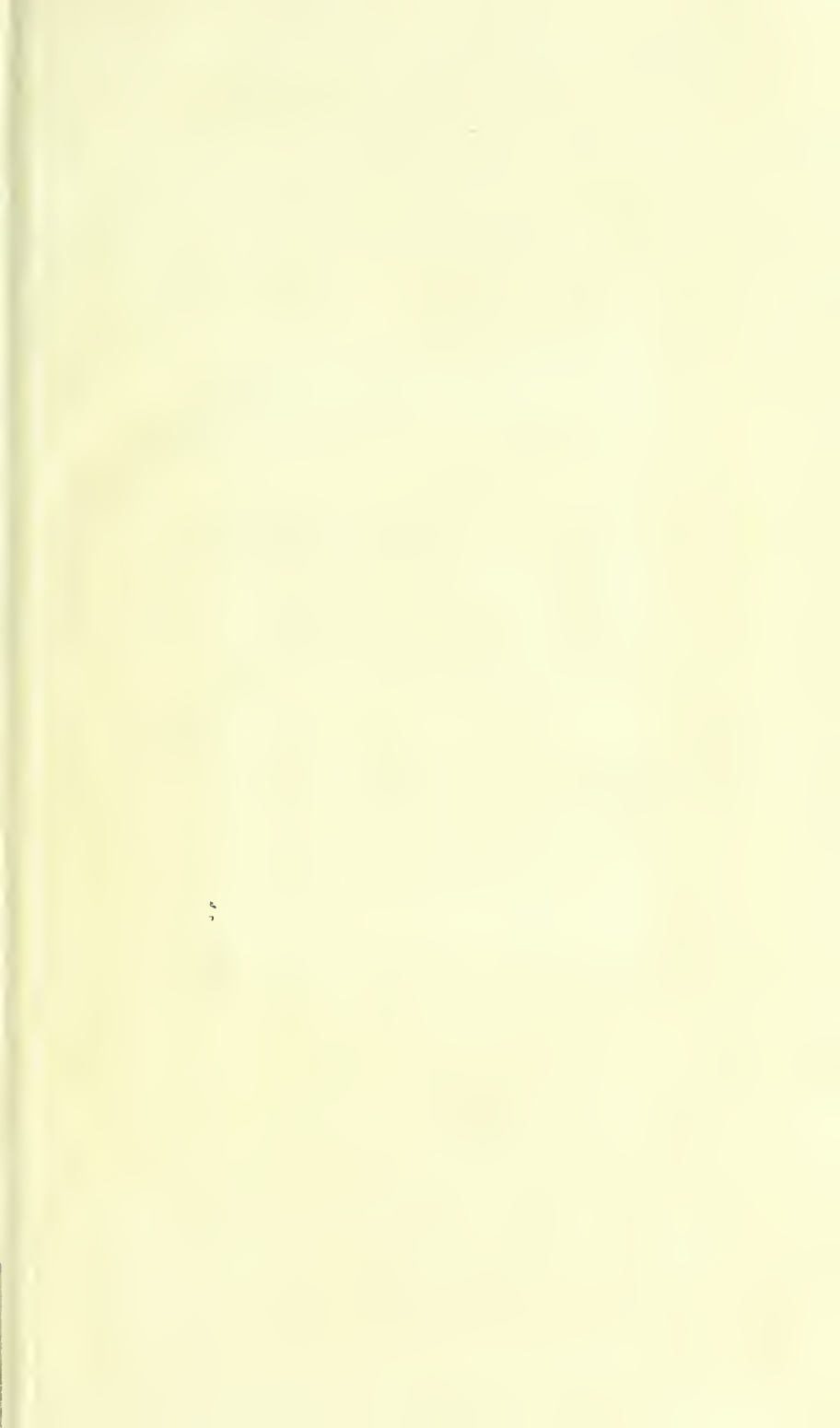


DUKE
UNIVERSITY

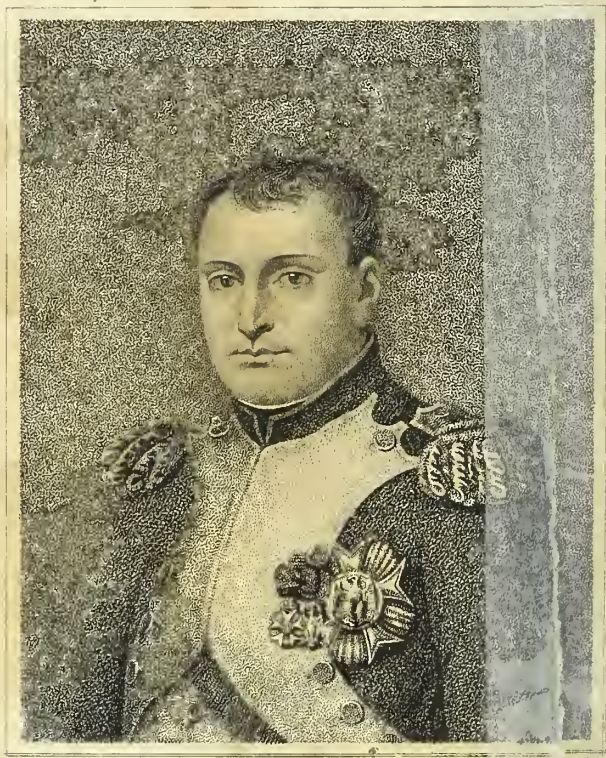


LIBRARY





Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2015



Andrieux pinx.

D. & H. sculp.

NAPOLÉON BUONAPARTE

THE LIFE
OF
NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE:

CONTAINING
HISTORICAL SKETCHES,

AND
ANECDOTES ILLUSTRATIVE OF HIS PUBLIC AND
PRIVATE CHARACTER.

SEPARATELY SELECTED AND ARRANGED FROM THE MOST AUTHENTIC
DOCUMENTS AND PUBLICATIONS.

WITH A PORTRAIT OF THE EMPEROR.

BY AN AMERICAN.

ELIZABETH-TOWN, N. J.
PUBLISHED BY ALLEN AND BRYANT.

J. & E. Sanderson, printers.

1820.

1/19/3

C. W. Beale

Dover

923,144
H216A

CONTENTS.

vii

CHAPTER XXIII.

English army in Egypt—death of sir Ralph Abercrombie, 369

CHAPTER XXIV.

Movements of general Hutchinson—close of the campaign of Egypt 390

CHAPTER XXV.

Affairs in the north of Europe—Buonaparte's vexation at the progress of the English, 409

CHAPTER XXVI.

Buonaparte's view of the republic, 428

CHAPTER XXVII.

Proceedings of the consulta—disturbances in St. Domingo—extension of Buonaparte's power—he is declared emperor, 443

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Affairs of St. Domingo—battle of Trafalgar—campaign in Russia—battle of Leipzig, 460

CHAPTER XXIX.

Buonaparte offered to abdicate the throne—sets out for Elba—account of the commission appointed to convey him—return to Paris—battle of Waterloo—abdication of Buonaparte a second time—surrender of his person to captain Maitland—sails for England, and St. Helena, 481

315003



1790
1769
111

THE LIFE

OF

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.

CHAPTER I.

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE was born on the 15th of August, 1769, at Ajaccio, a small town in the island of Corsica. He was the eldest son of Carlo Buonaparte, a lawyer of Italian extraction, by his wife Letitia Raniolini : and it has been said, that general Paoli was his god father. General count Marbœuf was the early patron of Napoleon ; he had conquered Corsica for the kingdom of France, and was appointed governor of the island. His protection became advantageous to the family of Buonaparte, and it is reported to have been excited by the charms of Napoleon's mother, that her blandishments obtained the count's warmest regards, and that he rewarded her intimations of fondness by an attachment disgraceful to her reputation, and dishonorable to her husband ; that these solicitations were but a continuation of the conduct she adopted towards others previous to her marriage ; that she was then notoriously unchaste, and that her connection with the count, at the same time that it confirmed her husband's suspicion of her infidelity, also gave him Napoleon for an heir.

The story of Buonaparte's illegitimacy is at present destitute of the authority we require ; but be his origin what it may, he became so much an object of the count Marbœuf's protection as to have been admitted by his influence with the Marechal de Segur, the French minister at war, as an *Eleve du Roi*, into *L'Ecole Royale Militaire*, at Brienne, in the province of Champagne. It was there that he acquired a knowledge of the military and political sciences, which he has since so well matured by experience, and which has enabled him to lead mighty armies to battle, and to conquer ; which has brought princes to his feet to sue for the nominal possession of their states ; which has procured for him

kingdoms that he has bestowed on those whom he chose to create sovereigns, and which has given him the uncontrolled and the absolute dominion of an empire, that he raised to be the mightiest on the continent of Europe, and seated him on the throne of the most ancient and powerful dynasties of the civilized world.

The school at Brienne was one of the thirteen *Royal Military* schools, or colleges, which were established in various provinces of the kingdom of France, and they were particularly patronised by the two last sovereigns of the Bourbon family. These establishments were magnificently endowed, and the pupils enjoyed every advantage which was essential to their domestic convenience.

L'Ecole Royale Militaire at Paris, was at the head of the other military schools in the provinces, and it was to this school that not only subordination was acknowledged by the pupils of the others, but to which they looked forward as the haven for all the youths of pre-eminent genius, that the military schools of the provinces had educated. Examinations were annually held in the presence of a royal inspector, who was most commonly a general officer, and of two members of the French academy, and such pupils, whose proficiency in study qualified them for candidates, and whose good reputation in the school was verified by the testimony of the regents, were then selected and admitted pupils of the Royal Military School at Paris. Here their studies were completed, and from hence they were honorably dismissed, and immediately attached to some regiment, or appointed to some military employment.

Napoleon Buonaparte arrived at the Royal Military School at Brienne, in the year 1779, being then only sixteen years old. At this early age, however, he discovered a peculiar temper of mind. He avoided the juvenile sports and amusements of the other pupils, and courted solitude and gloom. Withdrawing himself from their mirth, he directed his attention to sedentary, rather than to active employment, and appeared entirely engaged in his own individual and retired pursuits. He seldom exposed himself to his school fellows, for as he came only as a monitor, they repulsed his reprimands and raileries by blows, which he received with indifference, returned with coolness, and never humbled by retreating from superior force.

A large plot of ground adjoining the school, had been divided into a number of portions, and the boys were allowed to cultivate these portions, or appropriate them to such other purpose as they pleased. One of these parcels was allotted to Buonaparte and two other lads; he succeeded in prevailing on his two partners to give up their right to participate in the amusements which their ground would have afforded, and having thus excluded all claim on the part of any one else he proceeded to lay it out into a garden, which he took much pains to improve, and his attention to which was the principal part of his recreation. He expended the money which the count Marbœuf had sent him for his pocket, in the construction of a strong palisade around his garden, by which he rendered it difficult of access. The shrubs which he also planted, some of which were formed into impenetrable abours, contributed to its seclusion from the grounds of the other boys, and increased the difficulties of their intrusion.

It does not appear, that on his first entrance at school, any extraordinary acquirements of learning marked an inordinate desire of instruction, or intenseness of application; he seems to have neglected, if not altogether rejected, in his early years, the attainment of the Latin language. He soon, however, applied himself with earnestness to the mathematics, the rudiments of which he was taught by Father Patruil, a nunim at Brienne. Fortification, and all the other branches of military science and tactics he studied with increasing ardour; and these, with the reading of history, principally of ancient Rome and Greece, were his most delightful occupations.

During the period which Buonaparte continued at Brienne, a library was formed for the amusement and instruction of the pupils, and which was to be under their entire direction. To give them proper notions of arrangement and order, their superiors left the distribution of the books and other affairs to the management of two of the boarders, chosen by their comrades. The calls of Buonaparte on one of these who was appointed librarian, were so often and so much more frequent than the applications of his companions, that the young man considered him tiresome, and sometimes lost his temper. Buonaparte was not less patient, nor less positive, and on these occasions extorted submission by blows.

The hours of vacation between his attendance on the preceptors of the school were spent in his garen, which he cultivated so assiduously, as to preserve it interior in a state of order and cleanliness. Its boundarie became impervious, and enclosed a retreat that might hve been coveted by a religious recluse. Here, when his horticultural labours were ended, he retired to its arburs, with his mathematical and scientific works, and, surrounded by these and other books chiefly on historical subjects, he meditated the réduction of the principles he had imbibed to practice. He planned the attack and defence of fortified places, the arrangement of hostile corps in order of battl, calculated the chances of success on the one part, and of defeat on the other, altered their position, and formed charge and victories upon paper, and on the ground, which he afterwards realised with success when directing the evolutions of the French armies. His military ardour was increased by his historical reading; his enthusiasm was excited by the lives of those ancient legislators, heroes, and warriors, which are recorded by the venerable Plutarch, the splendour of whose actions have eclipsed the injustice at which they sometimes aimed, and which more frequently originated in the daring purposes of the factious partisan, or in the desperate policy of the bold faced tyrant, than in the laudable design of the intrepid patriot, to free his country from despotism; or, than in the resolution of the chief of a free people, to preserve their independence, and secure their government from treachery. The life of the Marshal, prince of Saxony, was also a frequent recreation to Buonaparte, after a close application to the mathematics. He persisted in all his studies with avidity.

The Belles Lettres were not any source of his entertainment, his sole and undivided attention was to military acquirements, and a proficiency in the studies which form the habits of a warrior. Polite, or liberal accomplishment, he appeared to consider that a soldier should disdain. He had, doubtless, heard of the achievements of Marlborough in the field, and perhaps that he had also studied the art of pleasing, "that by it he gained, whoever he had a mind to gain; and he had a mind to gain every body because he knew that every body was, more or less, worth gaining." But it was not by gracefulness of demeanor that Buonaparte de-

signed to win what he could not gain by mere force ; he never sought to attain by a display of any endeavour to please, what he could not possess by his power ; he never relinquished the pursuit of a thing, but acquired it by stratagem, in which there was no seeing of his influence. He scorned the arts of a courtier, nor even employed them where it might have been supposed that no other attempt would succeed. All other means, which power and the ingenuity of an uncultivated mind would have devised, he used, without hesitation. His comrades called him the Spartan, and he retained the name until he quitted Brienne.

Buonaparte's attachment to Corsica was almost proverbial. It was usual for the boys to receive the communion, and be confirmed on the same day, and the ceremony was performed at the Military School by the archbishop ; when he came to Buonaparte, he asked him, like the rest, his Christian name ; Buonaparte answered aloud. The name of Napoleon being uncommon escaped the archbishop, who desired him to repeat it, which Buonaparte did, with an appearance of impatience. The minister who assisted, remarked to the prelate—" Napoleon ! I do not know that saint."—" Napoléon ! I believe it," observed Buonaparte—" the saint is a Corsican."

His fellow pupils frequently irritated him by calling him a French vassal. He retorted eagerly, and with bitterness ; he sometimes declared a belief that his destiny was to deliver Corsica from its dependence on France. The name of Paoli he never mentioned but with reverence, and he aspired to the honour of achieving the design which the plans of that officer could not accomplish. Genoa had added to the calamity of his country by surrendering it to France, and thus exposed it to a subjection which it gallantly resisted, but to which superior force compelled submission. To the Genoese his hatred was inveterate and eternal. A young Corsican, on his arrival at the college was presented to Buonaparte by the other students as a Genoese ; the gloom of his countenance instantly kindled into rage ; he darted upon the lad with vehemence, twisted his hands in his hair, and was only prevented using further violence by the immediate interference of the stronger boys, who dragged the lad away from his resentment. His anger rekindled against

this youth for many weeks afterwards, as frequently as he came near him.

Buonaparte was always desirous of hearing accounts of the public transactions in Corsica. He revered his country, and never mentioned its resistance to France without enthusiasm. He listened with the most lively interest to the various successes of the Corsican patriots in arms.—Some of the French officers who had served in Corsica would frequently go to the school at Brienne, and the conversation often turned upon the Corsican war. They would sometimes exaggerate their advantages over the Corsicans, and he allowed them to talk quietly on, occasionally, however, asking a shrewd question; but, when he was certain they had falsified a fact, he would eagerly exclaim, “are you not ashamed, for a momentary gratification of vanity, to calumniate a whole nation?” At one time an officer was describing a victory, that he said had been obtained by six hundred of the French; Buonaparte exclaimed, “you say there were six hundred of you in the engagement: I know you were six thousand, and that you were opposed only by a few wretched Corsican peasants.” He then opened his journals and maps, and referring to them, declaimed against the vain glorious boastings of the French officers.

His manners were very remarkable; pride was the prominent feature of his character; his conduct was austere; if he committed an error, it was not the fault of a boy, it was the result of deliberation, and what would, in mature age, have been deemed a crime. His severity never forgave the offences of his companions. His resolves were immovable, and his firmness in trifles tinctured his behaviour with obstinacy and eccentricity. Frequently engaged in quarrels, he was often the greatest sufferer, as he generally contended on the weakest side, and though he was mostly singled out as an object of revenge, he never complained to his superiors of ill treatment. He meditated retaliation in silence, and if he could not inflict a punishment himself, he disdained appealing to an authority that could enforce it.

The boys of the school were, however, gradually familiarized to his temper; he would not bend to them, and they were contented to concede to him. He accepted this acknowledgment of his superiority, without any appearance of self gratulation, and although they could not esteem him

for any of the milder virtues, they feared his inflexible nature, and allowed him either to indulge in seclusion, or to associate with themselves as he might please. The insurrections of the scholars against the masters were frequent, and Buonaparte was either at the head of each rebellion or was selected to advocate their complaints. He was therefore generally selected as the leader, and suffered severe chastisement. He often vindicated his conduct, but never entreated pardon. He listened to reproach and to reproof, to promises, and to threats, without emotions of fear or surprise. He was never humiliated by those punishments that were intended to disgrace him, and the raillery of an ungenerous comrade, or a powerful superior, was equally received in sullen silence. He neither courted good-will nor feared resentment.

The meetings of the boys were on the plan of a military establishment. They formed themselves into companies, each under the command of a captain and other officers, and the whole composed a battalion, with a colonel at its head. The officers were chosen by the boys, and decorated by the ornaments usually attached to the French uniform. These distinctions of rank being conferred by the lads were mostly the reward of some pre-eminent virtue or ability, they were therefore considered by those who were so fortunate to obtain them as an honourable *insignia* of merit. Buonaparte was unanimously chosen, and held the rank of captain. He, however, by no means courted their approbation, for he was soon afterwards summoned before a court-martial, which was called with all due formality, and, on charges being proved against him, declared unworthy to command those comrades whose good-will he despised.—The sentence disgraced him to the lowest rank in the battalion, he was stripped of the distinguishing marks of his command, but disdained to shew that he was affected by the disgrace.

The younger boys, however, were partial to Buonaparte's manners, for he sometimes encouraged them in their sports, and occasionally pointed out some advantage which in their warlike plays had been omitted to be occupied, hence he associated with them, and they voted him, by acclamation, the Director of their Diversions. Thus, if he felt regret for the loss of his juvenile military rank, he was now re-

compensated by becoming the leader of the lads, who submitted to the authority they had bestowed on him, and which authority soon extended itself over all the youths in the school. Without being restricted to observe the rules which are essential to modern military duty, he could now bring his forces into the field, and direct all their operations. He availed himself of this new command, and he disciplined his comrades to a new mode of warfare.

Buonaparte divided his youthful comrades into two parties; they were alternately the Romans and the Carthaginians, the Greeks and the Persians. To represent the mode of fighting of the ancients in the open field, was more easy for these lads than to imitate the movements of an army of modern times. They were destitute of artillery, which in European battles are sometimes more decisive of the fate of the day than any weapons of individual use. In sham fights, indeed, the musket is more often used, because it more often happens that artillery is not to be obtained to heighten the effect of the contest, but the musket which is the only weapon in the hands of the soldier, is insufficient to picture in a sham fight its effect in an actual engagement, which is oftener decided by the bayonet than by fire-arms. Buonaparte therefore instituted and encouraged the practice of the ancient warfare; he excited the enthusiasm of his youthful soldiery by his speeches and his actions; he led on one party against another, and the victory was often disputed with an obstinacy that would have honoured a more important struggle. If his troops fled, he recalled them by his reproaches; by exposing himself to dangers he revived their ardour, and supported their intrepidity by his own bravery. These conflicts were often repeated, and the field of battle disputed with more firmness on every occasion. At length the games which commenced in sport, seldom closed until the wounds of the combatants proved the earnestness with which they contended. The superiors of the college interfered, they reprimanded the young general Buonaparte, and a renewal of these battles was prohibited.

His activity repressed in the only exercise to which he was attached, Buonaparte retired to his favorite garden, resumed his former occupations, and appeared no more among his comrades until the winter of the year 1783. The se-

verity of the weather had driven him from his retreat, the snow laid thick upon the ground, and a hard frost had set in. Buonaparte, ever fertile in expedients, determined to open a winter campaign upon a new plan. The modern art of war succeeded to the ancient. Having been deeply engaged in the study of fortification, it was natural that he should be desirous of reducing its theory to practice. He called his fellow pupils around him, and collecting their gardening implements, he put himself at their head, and they proceeded to procure large quantities of snow, which were brought to particular spots in the great court of the school, as he directed. Whilst they were thus occupied, he was busied in tracing the boundaries of an extensive fortification; they soon formed intrenchments, and afterwards eagerly engaged in erecting forts, bastions and redoubts of snow. They laboured with activity, and Buonaparte superintended their exertions.

The whole of these works were soon completed according to the exact rules of art. The curiosity of the people of Brienne, and even of strangers, was excited by the reports of their extent and scientific construction, and they went in crowds during the winter to admire them. Buonaparte, by turns, headed the assailants and the opponents; he united address with courage, and directed the operations with great applause. The weapons of the contending parties were snow balls, and he continually kept up the interest by some military manoeuvre, which always surprised if it did not astonish. The encounters were equally earnest with those of the summer campaign, but the arms were different. The superiors now encouraged these games of the boys, by praising those who distinguished themselves. The sports continued throughout the winter, and it was not until the sun of the month of March, 1784, liquified the fortress, that it was declared no longer tenable.

The rudeness of manners which Buonaparte displayed, and the violence of temper to which he was subject, were not at all softened or subdued previous to his quitting Brienne; his paroxysms of passion had sometimes amounted even to fury, and his anger was often so sudden and so uncontrollable that few of his comrades would venture to hazard his displeasure. The following instance may be adduced of his extraordinary disposition:

The pupils of the military school were permitted every year, on the day of St. Louis, (the 25th of August,) to give themselves up to pleasure, and the most noisy demonstrations of joy, almost without restraint. All punishment was suspended, all subordination ceased, and generally some accident occurred before the day concluded.

Such pupils as had attained fourteen years of age, an old custom of the college had allowed the privilege of purchasing a certain quantity of gunpowder, and for a long time before the day arrived these youths would assemble to prepare their fire-works. They were also permitted to discharge small cannon, muskets, and other fire arms, when and as often as they thought proper.

It was on St. Louis's day, in 1784, the last year of Buonaparte's remaining at the school, that he affected an entire indifference to the means which his comrades used for its celebration. They were all animation and hilarity, activity and spirit. He was all gloom and taciturnity, thought and reflection. Retired the whole day in his garden, he not only did not participate in the general rejoicing, but pretended to continue his usual study and occupations without being disturbed by the noise. His comrades were too much engaged in their amusements to think of interrupting him, and would only have laughed at his strange behaviour, if an uncommon circumstance had not drawn upon him their general attention and resentment.

Towards nine o'clock in the evening about twenty of the young people were assembled in that garden which adjoined to his, in which the proprietor had promised to entertain them with a show. It consisted of a pyramid, composed of various fire-works; a light was applied, and, unfortunately, a box, containing several pounds of gunpowder, had been forgotten to be removed. While the youths were admiring the effect of the fire-works, a spark entered the box, which instantly exploded; some legs and arms were broken, two or three faces miserably burned, and several paces of wall thrown down. The confusion was very great, and some of the lads, in their alarm, endeavoured to escape through the adjoining fence, they broke the palisades, and Buonaparte was seen stationed on the other side, armed with a pick-axe, and pushing those back into the fire who had burst the fence. The blows which he bestowed

to whom the people looked up with much expectation, as his conduct while Dauphin had been of the most exemplary kind. In the year 1770, he had married Marie Antoinette, daughter of Maria Teresa, and sister to Joseph the 1st, emperor of Germany, a princess of an excellent capacity, and great dignity of mind, and which alliance might have been eminently serviceable to the nation, but for the egotism and selfishness of the French, which constantly led them to be guilty of any meanness rather than to acknowledge a real obligation to any power but their own.

Disorder prevailed in public as well as private affairs, and the revenues of the state were as inadequate to its wants as the incomes of individuals were unequal to their demands. Every one saw the absolute necessity for reform, but no one had virtue enough to begin it with himself; hence murmurs were heard instead of consultations being held, and the violence of contention, instead of the councils of amity.

A firm and enterprising prince, in the circumstances of Louis the XVIth, would have benefited greatly by the general state of Europe. At the commencement of his reign, England, the only power from whom France could expect any cause of quarrel, was engaged in such numerous disputes with her Indian and American colonies that she could have nothing to apprehend from that quarter. The kings of Prussia and Sweden, as well as the empress Catharine, had made such various reforms in their several states, that the public were universally prepared for ameliorations and improvements, and the whole body of the literati had so far committed themselves upon the reforms necessary in France, that they could not, with any decency, have opposed the correction of such abuses as the French monarch might have been determined to effect.

An undefined animosity had existed for ages between England and France, which was always more powerful in the latter people against the English than in the people of England against the French. The American colonies had determined to dissolve the bond that connected them with the mother country, and to declare themselves independent of the crown of England. Every argument used

to justify this violent separation was calculated to teach the discontented that they might throw off their allegiance with impunity, and a prudent monarch should have seen that he was most sedulously called upon to guard against their introduction into his empire ; but the court of France was so strongly tempted by the opportunity of humbling an old antagonist, that it seemed to overlook all consequences, and injudiciously lent its aid to achieve the triumphs of rebellion. One of the American leaders was admitted at Paris in the character of ambassador, and large armies and fleets were fitted out and sent to the continent of the new world, where they fought side by side with those who maintained that taxation was a fraud—that both the nobles and clergy were like locusts, that devoured the fruits of the earth, and that kings themselves were nuisances, whose dominion they were fighting to get rid of.

The forces of America and France acted in conjunction for near six years. And when the French troops embarked for their own country, they returned to tell their comrades and neighbours at home, that the king's supremacy was a vulgar error, for that they had been assisting a people to overthrow the established law, and to reduce the burthens of taxation, by governing themselves.

To secure the good will of the people, a treaty was entered into with America, by which it was stipulated that the States should reimburse the sums that France had expended on their account during the war, and the whole amount (eighteen millions of livres) was to be paid by annual instalments, in twelve years. A treaty, offensive and defensive, was entered into with Holland, and a commercial treaty was entered into with England. Every thing failed of its object. The most sour and ill-natured constructions were put upon every attempt to conciliate, and which, instead of increasing satisfaction, served only to aggravate the general discontent.

Among the measures that created the greatest murmurs, were the English commercial treaty, and the establishment of a company with an exclusive trade to the East Indies.

Amidst the general ferment, the principles of the American revolution were easily to be discovered ; the generous

cry of liberty resounded every where, but the ideas conveyed by it were as different as the numerous situations of the persons by whom it was echoed. France contained a vast number of enlightened statesmen, yet an immense mass of the population was as ignorant as superstition and poverty could make them. Instead, therefore, of craving a sublime system, that should ameliorate the condition of ALL without operating oppressively upon any, the generality of Frenchmen understood nothing more by liberty than the removal of some particular burden, by which each was more immediately affected. Every one, however, complained of some sort of grievance, and though the gratification of one would have been an affliction to another, yet, as each precisely knew his neighbour's deficiency, the term Liberty, it became a common watch-word.

Violent as the conflicts of opinion were in France, during this period, the attention of the parties were, in a certain degree, diverted from their own affairs, by the events transpiring in other countries.

The people of England had resisted an obnoxious post upon retail shopkeepers, which the minister had indignantly resolved to maintain in the face of all opposition. The tax seemed indirectly to sanction the unjust principle of exemption, and it was censured with so much severity, that it was abandoned, after a struggle of about two years.

In Holland a contention of another kind agitated the public mind. The government was nominally vested in the prince of Orange, as stadtholder, or head of the states, but was really lodged in the power of the states-general, or congress, consisting of representatives from the Seven Provinces. All affairs of general government were directed by this body, while those of internal administration were entirely under the direction of the burgo-masters. The persons of both those classes, had, by a frequent return to power, and by an artful combination, transformed themselves into an hereditary aristocracy, for they could manage to prevent the representation going out of their own families, and nothing was wanting to convert them into an hereditary government but the removal of the stadtholder.—To this minister (for he was nothing else) they allowed just power enough to leave him open to blame, in case of misfortune, but not sufficient to entitle him to praise in case of

success. The leading finesse by which they were to effect their purpose, was, to enlarge upon every accident, as arising out of the mal-administration of the stadtholder, and by this chicanery to persuade the people to deposit their liberties in their hands. Wealth, power, and insolence, were the adorable trinity of these cowardly and contemptible wretches ; and because England had refused to gratify their cupidity by sanctioning the illegal trade that they carried on with her enemies during the American war, under the colour of neutrality, they necessarily became the enemies of England, and revenge as naturally threw them into the arms of France.

The necessity of assembling the states-general was urged from all parts of the kingdom, and Louis now saw no other means were left him of saving the country from the calamities of a civil war.

In the mean time the popular party lost no time in inflaming itself. Inflammatory writings were distributed to the people, and placards were posted upon the public buildings, charging the people with cowardice and servility for submitting to the arbitrary measures of the government. The vilest censures, and the most virulent torrents of personal abuse, were poured upon the royal family, especially upon the queen, who was charged with stimulating every violent proceeding ; and enigmatical sentences, some written, and others printed, exciting the people to revolt, were liberally distributed and read with avidity.

In the morning of Sunday the 13th of July, 1788, most of the extensive kingdom of France was involved in solemn darkness, which was succeeded by a dreadful commixture of hail, rain, thunder, lightning and wind, uniting their fury to destroy every appearance of corn, vintage, and vegetation. Dismay and horror diffused themselves throughout the land, as if the consummation of all things was fast approaching, and the people on their way to church were so beaten by the tempest, that they fell prostrate on the earth, now converted into a quagmire, by the concussion of the elements. The damages occasioned by the hurricane were supposed to amount to four millions sterling, and the misery it inflicted upon the people of the most distressing kind.

To alleviate the distresses of the unhappy sufferers, the king ordered the profits of a lottery, amounting to twelve hundred thousand livres, to be divided amongst them, and forgave them all the taxes for the space of a year, from the time of their calamity. The benevolence of the duke of Orleans upon the occasion, was also very extensive. Not only did this desolating event promote the revolution by the distress it occasioned, but it afforded the people opportunities of forming tumultuous assemblies, that the government could not restrain. What cruel measures of police could censure the people for endeavouring to get bread? Their business called them to the bakers' shops, and murmurs upon a particular subject easily received a more general application, so that every street became a public forum, where men, women, and children, indiscriminately mixed together, to arraign the conduct of the court.

At length the much desired period arrived, that was fondly expected by the great mass of the people to terminate all the disorders and tumults of the kingdom. His majesty met the states-general on the 4th of May, 1789, in one assembly, and left them without noticing the contention that was in embryo, relative to voting in separate chambers.

Mutual jealousies and explanations, frequent paroxysms of tumultuous frenzy, and various attempts to form a new constitution, brought the proceedings of the national assembly down to the eleventh of July, when all the elements of restless distraction began to lower throughout the vast expanse of political combination, with such a threatening aspect, that the imagination became bewildered by the catalogue of woes that were announced, and the mind seemed to stagger beneath the weight of its own conjectures. The count de Mirabeau had expressed himself so energetically, upon the symptoms of a dangerous conspiracy on the part of the court against the deliberations and existence of the assembly, that the popular party looked up to him as a leader and deliverer, and the court evidently began to hasten its preparations for some desperate explosion.

Upon one point only had the confidence of the assembly and the people reposed for some days. M. Necker was considered the sincere friend of liberty, and it was thought impossible that any hostile measures could be attempted, so long as he remained in the ministry; the court rather

endured than employed him, and his dismissal from office was resolved upon the moment that the forces were thought sufficient to triumph over the public voice. "The ministry is dismissed, and Necker is sent into exile," was echoed by every voice throughout Versailles, and the most unfeigned grief was depicted on every countenance. A new administration was appointed, consisting of the most violent enemies of liberty, and every one expected that the foreign troops would receive orders to seize upon the national assembly without delay.

Intelligence of such importance, would, upon ordinary occasions, have been circulated throughout Paris in a few hours, but all the high roads and direct ways had become so barricadoed that no foot passenger, nor even the post could pass to carry the news. It arrived circuitously and by slow degrees, and when it was at first related, it was treated as a report, wickedly invented to excite confusion; at last it reached the palais-royal, in a shape that could no longer admit of a doubt. The minister was gone no one knew whither, and the representatives of the people might be already incarcerated in the dungeons of the state. No language can describe the agitation that instantaneously convulsed the vast population of Paris. It was a mixture of grief and indignation, impetuously hurried on by all the anxieties of doubt. Pleasure no longer possessed the charm of pleasing, and the least indication of joy would have been considered as a crime. All the theatres were immediately shut by order of the people.

Busts of Necker and the duke of Orleans were procured, and carried about the streets covered with crape, and the air resounded with the names of their favourite. It was even suggested, that the king ought to be dethroned, and the duke of Orleans appointed his successor, as a certain means of effecting the return of the minister. The bells of all the churches were rang, and the people were collected in crowds upon the bridges, and in all the open places of the city, where the most fanciful and talkative endeavoured to inflame their indignation with all the anticipations of military vengeance and executions, that the late tumults had exposed them to. The dispositions of the foreign corps were contrasted with those of the French guards, and pains were taken to shew, that both the French soldiers and

the French people, ought to unite all their efforts to save their country from being given up to the pillage and punishment of hired hordes. In the midst of these lectures the prince of Lambesc appeared at the head of a German regiment, to clear the streets, and to disperse the multitude.—No circumstance could have occurred more calculated to increase the fury of the people, and the most insignificant lecturer found himself capable of leading large bodies to any enterprise that he might suggest, by the mere art of exciting their indignation against any passing event. A mere accident formed an immediate hot-bed, by which France was instantly supplied with legislators and commanders in chief, ready to resist the most powerful efforts of the best established governments.

The palais-royal became the central resort for those congregations, and was the most convenient spot for rallying all the forces of the city, as well on account of being situated nearly in the middle of Paris, as of the ready access that it afforded to all descriptions of people. Here Gorsas, an obscure schoolmaster, with Ciceronian eloquence, was stimulating his audience, and there Camille Desmoulins, an advocate of considerable talents, was irritating the passions of the multitude by every species of theatrical flourish that his fertile imagination could suggest. With a pistol in each hand Camille was vehemently haranguing, to prove, that no man was certain of his life and liberty for a single hour; when a report was circulated, that the prince of Lambesc, in his march, had struck an old man with his sword. No pains were taken to examine whether the report was true or false, or whether, if true, the prince had been stimulated by anger, or a humane desire of saving the aged person from being trampled under his horse's feet; a skirmish had ensued between the Parisians and the troops, and a general cry of "To arms! to arms!" impelled every creature to the field of action.

It was late on the 12th of July, that the cavalry were driven out of Paris, and it was hourly expected that the marshal Broglio, who held the command of all the corps in the neighbourhood, and who was attached to the most despotic principles, would attempt to reduce the city. The apprehension was terrible, repose was banished from every breast, and sleep refused to grant a momentary respite from

disquietude ! The hearts of mothers palpitated with the most dreadful alarms for the safety of their infants, whilst the fears of the rich were increased by a sense of the *more* than common dangers to which they were exposed, in a moment when all the barriers were thrown down between temptation and gratification.

The silent hours of night were chased away by the clangour of alarms, and the different rude weapons that an irregular multitude could purloin from the various domestic and manufacturing purposes to which they were usually applied, every house became a fortress, and every citizen a soldier. Morning arrived, but no enemy made his appearance !— All was suspense, but the mysterious delay had no tendency to restore the public tranquillity. No motive could retard the interference of government, but a desire to mature its plans, and as the dangers would increase by the length of time that was required to strengthen them, no time was to be lost in preparing to meet them.

All the shops were shut, and all business was at an end. The electors of Paris were spontaneously formed into a provisional government, and the final issue of the contest was expected with the greatest impatience.

Whilst Paris was thus preparing the means of defence, the situation of the national assembly was supposed to be most perilous, the communication with Versailles was in a great measure cut off by the intermediate bodies of troops, and in case of attack the inhabitants of Versailles could afford no resistance to the armed force. But the assembly betrayed no symptoms of fear, the members seemed convinced that they had more justice on their side than could possibly be asserted on that of the court, and their whole reliance was placed in the rectitude of their cause, and the zeal of their fellow citizens.

On the night of the thirteenth, means of correspondence were found between the assembly and the provisional municipality of Paris, and it was discovered that M. de Flesselles, the mayor of Paris, who professed to be in the interest of the citizens, was taking measures to betray them into the power of Broglio. The intercepted correspondence *proved*, that the marshal intended to enter into the city on the following evening, when the people should be subdued by excessive fatigue, and be too weary to resist the allure-

ment of sleep. Hostilities were sure to commence within a few hours, and by draining the plans of the enemy, his defeat might be secured.

The Bastille was at once the fortress and the prison that was to be feared. It was there that all the satellites of despotism would fix their head-quarters; it was there that both the deputies and their constituents would be stowed away in caverns and in cells. There it was that their lives would continue to waste away by the ruffian arm of relentless tyranny, and the only way to divest the monster of his power was to spoil him of his refuge and his home. "To the Bastille! to the Bastille!" was echoed throughout the city on the morning of the memorable FOURTEENTH of July, 1789, and an army of forty thousand desperadoes, musically armed with offensive instruments of all sorts, intermingled with a few hundreds of soldiers, set out on their march. When their leaders had put them in motion, it was necessary to accustom them to some order, and accordingly they were wheeled about to attack the hospital of the invalids, where a large magazine of arms was deposited. No great resistance was attempted, and the glittering ranks served to convert those raw recruits into the most confident of soldiers. From the invalids to the Bastille, the whole length of the city was to be traversed, and the multitude greatly increased by the way.

On arriving at the fortress, a deputation from the provisional municipality demanded admission, in the name of the people. De Launey, the governor, was in a situation the most awful that any individual could have to sustain. His duty to his sovereign forbade him to yield to any other power, and his duty to his countrymen forbade him to shed blood in any avoidable case. He might even be in the secret of the court, and wish to hold out till a reinforcement might entirely disperse the assailants; but, whether this were so or not, it was no unreasonable demand, that he should be allowed some time, before he could decide upon the proper course to take. He demanded a parley. "Deliver the keys!" was the answer of the multitude. He could not resolve. A shower of stones and a fire of musketry might hasten his decision. The experiment was tried, and the governor resolved to stand a siege. All the attempts to effect a breach failed of success, and many of them were

killed. At last a private soldier got over the guard-house, and forced the first drawbridge, by means of a hatchet, while others broke open the outer gate and entered the court. These were soon repelled by the garrison, and the ground regained. The conflict became desperate, and the issue doubtful. The bodies of the wounded lay scattered on the ground, and the fury of the people was increased even to madness.

At this critical moment arrived two detachments of soldiers, headed by two non-commissioned officers, and these were followed by a numerous train of volunteers, headed by a citizen, Hulin, who had prevailed upon a number of the French guards also to join the people. An accession of new courage invigorated the whole body. They set fire to some waggons of straw, and by their means burnt and destroyed the out-works. Several pieces of cannon were now brought to play upon the building, and the castle was at length taken by storm, after a few hours resistance. What a glorious triumph! how big with event! When shall we see an end of the blessings which it promises to mankind. Will they be of no longer duration than other achievements of man? Or shall we ever have to say, that the conquerors of the Bastille have spilled their blood in vain?

Liberty is a species of divinity that we contemplate with reverence, and worship afar off!—Shall we now approach her familiarly, and behold her benign influence constantly before us? Let us, at least, indulge the delusive hope as long as we can. The Bastille is destroyed! The victors are rummaging the cells! See the poor emaciated wretches, that have been for years entombed in its infernal dungeons, shut out from every cheering ray of hope, and doomed to spend the lingering load of life in one eternal blank! Behold the instruments of torture! till this free hour, most scrupulously hidden from public view. These are the tools by which a cruel tyrant works his secret vengeance—screws out his wrath amongst his victims' blood, and through the body finds a way to melt the greatest soul to mere servility. Hail! dear assertors of your country's rights! No human mind can look upon your conquest with indifference, and he must be grossly perverted by mistaken theories who does not rejoice at your success. The power is now in your own hands; if you will become the supporters of

freedom, you must become the ministers of justice, and you cannot trench upon the freedom of another, even by mistake, without endangering your own.

The attention of all Europe had been directed towards the capital of France, and many illustrious strangers had assembled upon the spot, lest the sinister representations of others should deprive them of any incident of the important drama that was expected with so much anxiety. How much stronger were the feelings of the people of France. The news of the taking the Bastille darted through Paris as rapidly as the rays of the sun, and one unbroken shout declared the rapturous joys of the people.

Immediately after the taking of the Bastille, every spectator, as well as every assailant, began his own relation of the transaction, and it was reported, that M. de Launay, the governor, had decoyed a number of people within the gates, under the pretence of supplying them with arms, and that when he had them in his power, he cruelly put them to death. Of a man already hated, on account of the situation he held, no stronger pretence was asked for making him a signal example of emancipated vengeance. There is no reason to believe that the report was true, for if it had been, the besiegers would not have suffered him to have breathed a single moment after they had surrounded him with their pikes; they, however, not only considered him as a prisoner, fairly within the laws of war, but they were proceeding with him to the *Hotel de la Ville*, to give him up to the magistrates, when the intoxicating spirit of unrestrained power found that human victims were necessary to its continuation; and the *imperial mob*, in the true character of a rude and ferocious tyrant, fell instantly upon their prisoner, and hacked him to pieces. M. de Losme, an inferior officer, and M. de Flesselles, the mayor, shared the same fate; and, having no ensigns of pillaged cities, no plunder of depopulated towns, no such trophies of their renown as high and polished conquerors usually display, these uncultivated retail dealers in human blood, mounted the bleeding heads of the mayor and governor upon their long pikes, and bore them in savage procession, as emblems of their giddy vanity.

CHAPTER III.

It is a misfortune peculiar to a season of public commotion that the persons chiefly concerned, are deterred from explaining their views with a becoming candor, owing to the frequent changes of sentiment, and various instances of treachery that happen at those periods ; and it was the peculiar unhappiness of Louis XVI. that no person avowedly his friend, would have been suffered to attend him, and those who were suffered, might, for any thing he knew, be all spies, placed there to watch his indiscretions, and even to misconstrue them to his disadvantage.

On the 21st of June, 1791, when the commandant of the castle of the Thuilleries went to the king's apartment, to see if his majesty was stirring, he was met by one of the household, who informed him, that neither the king, queen, dauphin, nor the princess Elizabeth, were to be found ; the news was generally known about nine in the morning, and Paris became in the greatest confusion.

The national assembly met early, and the president communicated the intelligence, upon which M. Montmorin, the minister for foreign affairs, was ordered under arrest, upon suspicion of his having assisted the escape of the family.

Alarms were immediately spread, that the king was gone to put himself at the head of an army, to invade his people, and preparations commenced for putting the frontiers in a state of defence. Couriers were dispatched to all the departments, with orders to arrest all persons who should attempt to quit the kingdom, and to seize all property, of whatever kind, that might be found crossing the frontiers. Very severe decrees were passed against all persons who had assisted in rescuing the king, and an address was prepared, to assure the country at large, that the assembly would maintain their posts with firmness and energy.

Two days had been spent in fruitless conjecture, without any discovery being made as to the circumstances of the departure, or the road the family had taken, when a messenger arrived at the assembly, with tidings that the royal family had been arrested at Varennes, and were detained

in custody there, till the orders of the representatives of the people should be known.

The re-possession of their *humbled captives* was such a triumphant affair, that the representatives of the nation thought it worth while to have the chief instrument of it brought before them, in full procession, by a deputation of the municipality of Paris. The witness began his recital by stating, that his name was Drouet, that he had formerly been a dragoon in the regiment of Conde, but was, at present, postmaster of St. Menchoud.

On the 21st of June, at half past seven in the evening, two carriages, and eleven horses, stopped to bait at his house. He thought he recognized the queen, and, perceiving a man at the back part of the carriage, his curiosity had led him to examine him closely, when the resemblance of the countenance, with the effigy of the king on a medallion of fifty livres, was so apparent, that he had no doubt.

These carriages were conducted by a detachment of dragoons, which succeeded a detachment of hussars, under pretence of protecting treasure. The escort excited particular suspicion, but being alone, and therefore fearing to excite a premature alarm, he suffered the carriages to depart, and then, hastening to the next stage by a back road, arrived before them, and had the national guard called out, to stop their carriages.

Three commissioners were appointed to escort the prisoners to Paris, and among the few creditable things that the assembly did, in the course of their session, it ought not to be forgotten, that they took every proper precaution upon this occasion to prevent their majesties being exposed to the brutal attacks of the cowardly Parisians.

When measures had been adopted for guarding the palace with greater strictness, a commission was appointed to examine the royal fugitives, as to the motives of their flight; upon which the king declared, that he was very far from desiring to conceal them.

“My reasons for undertaking the journey,” said the king, “arose from the outrages to which I and my family have been constantly exposed, not only on the 18th of April, but subsequent to that period, which led me to judge, that I could not with safety continue in Paris, where every branch of my house, but particularly the queen, was daily insulted

by the most indecent and inflammatory writings, the authors of which were wholly unpunished. I chose to quit it at midnight, to avoid interruption, but I had no intention of passing the frontiers. I had chosen to reside a short time at Montmedy, because, being a fortified place, I could have been visited by my family without molestation. On the day of my departure I addressed a protestation to the assembly; beside the complaints therein I have made no others, and these are not against the principles of the constitution, but upon the deficiency of that freedom which I ought to enjoy; and upon the administrative powers being too weak. I complain that the internal administration of the departments is embarrassed by wheels which obstruct the motion of the machine, and the superintendence of ministers is reduced to nothing. Defective as I consider this constitution, I certainly did not conceive, while I continued at Paris, that the public opinion could be greatly in its favour, but on the road, and during my journey, I became sensible that I was mistaken, and in consequence of my inquiries, and the elucidation resulting from them, conviction has flashed upon my mind, that the people approve it decidedly; and no other motive do I require, to induce me willingly to sacrifice all my personal interest to the welfare of my people, and to forget all the unpleasant circumstances that I have experienced to secure the peace and happiness of the nation."

The vindication of the queen was simple and natural; she declared, that "as the king had determined to remove himself and family, it was impossible that she could admit the thought of separating from him and her children," and both added to their declaration, that their attendants were "ignorant of their destination, till they received their orders to depart."

When the assembly had completed the constitution, it was presented to the king, for his acceptance, and though a simple AYE or NO would have been a sufficient answer upon the occasion, the king not only accepted it, as it stood, but entered into the merits of it as a man of business, who did not merely put his signature to a scroll that he held in contempt, but who pointed out deficiencies, because he was desirous of seeing those parts which he approved accompanied by others that should be worthy of them.

Nothing could have been more seasonable and appropriate than the address delivered by the king, and it was received by the assembly, as if that body had recovered a proper sense of the decorum necessary to be observed towards the chief magistrate of a great people. The reading was followed by the most lively and enthusiastic plaudits and the shouts of "long live the king," were as general and as loud as in the most splendid times of the monarchy. Scarcely had the fit of intoxication ceased, when the assembly decreed, on the motion of M. la Fayette, that persons under arrest should be immediately released—that prosecutions carried on against persons for acts committed in consequence of the revolution, should be immediately superseded—that passports should be no longer necessary to enable French citizens to enter or go out of the kingdom, and that a deputation of sixty members should wait upon the king with the decree, and express the happiness which his acceptance of the constitution had diffused.

As a natural consequence of those conciliatory steps, the assembly dispatched an embassy to the emigrant princes, with an invitation to return to their country, where they should freely enjoy all the blessings of the constitution, and to assure them, that they should be protected from every outrage by the legislative body. Happy would it have been for the world, if those *devotees of royal authority* had possessed loyalty enough to have obeyed the example of the august head of their house ; but, unhappily, the mania of turbulence and faction had seized as firmly hold of them as it had of the most frantic Jacobins, and therefore, in the same spirit, if not in the exact words of the CUT-THROATS of the *Palais-royal*, they resolved to submit to no order, and to obey no law, but—THEIR OWN WILL. It is even said, that their *hauteur* was so excessive and unwarrantable, that they imprisoned the messenger, M. Duveyrier, for presuming to approach them with the offer—an arrogant and unnecessary abuse of power, which not only degraded them to a level with the vindictive rabble of Paris, but served to rekindle the expiring flames of resentment, which afterwards burst forth with greater violence than ever.

The king had at this time certainly gained much popularity, and the public fury had greatly abated ; for upon his entering the hall, at the dissolution of the assembly, the

members ordered that no chair should be seated by his, except that of their president, and they even condescended to stand and remain uncovered, while his majesty delivered his speech, contrary to their rude practices upon former occasions. Nor was the assembly singular in these civilities, for their majesties not only ventured abroad without meeting with insult, but were greeted by various testimonies of returning loyalty on these occasions.

But these prognostics afforded very little hope, when the enlightened and intelligent part of the world saw what description of men the new assembly was composed of. The number of members for the eighty-three departments, into which France was then divided, was 745, and of this number only forty-eight of them possessed incomes, exceeding one hundred pounds per annum; the respectable part of the country having avoided a situation, in which they could hardly subdue the vindictive spirit of *one* party, without inclining the balance in favour of *another* equally revengeful. Thus the legislative body was composed of pamphleteers, lawyers, adventurers, and vagabonds, who very soon proved that they had no objection to make themselves better known, by surpassing their predecessors in the confusion that they occasioned.

The terrible 20th of June at length arrived, and some of the members of the municipality, who were not corrupted, apprised the assembly, that the populace were collecting with such evident designs of proceeding to some outrage of the public peace, that they thought nothing short of some vigorous interference of the legislature could avert the most imminent danger. The friends of moderation moved, that a decree should be passed, to forbid the assembling of armed bodies of people, and to prevent those cohorts from surrounding either the palace or the assembly, but this was scouted by the majority, as trenching upon the *majesty of the people*; and Santerre, accompanied by Legendre, a butcher, led their myrmidons through the city, and, under pretence of going to the king with a petition, collected all the elements of crime and confusion in one mass, with a design to overwhelm the unfortunate monarch and his family in irretrievable ruin.

That the evils to be dreaded from within were greater than those from without, admitted of no question, and all those

evils might be averted, if an happy union could be effected amongst the contending parties. Under this impression a member arose in the assembly, on the 7th of July, and bore a powerful appeal to the good sense of the whole body, conjured them to sacrifice their own particular views, and to become friends for the sake of their country—"Let all those," said he, "who discover faults in the constitution, meet in a spirit of accommodation to each other, and let us swear to each other, that we will unite to maintain it as it is."—Scarcely were the last words pronounced, when the two sides (republicans and constitutionalists) arose, threw their hats up, shouted applauses from every quarter, and, each approaching his opponent, the two sides embraced, and swore immortal union, taking their seats promiscuously, as a sign of endless harmony !

On the return of the deputation, who had waited on the king, the bishop of Lyons reported, that his majesty, after hearing the extract of the minutes read, answered, "that it was impossible for him to hear news more dear to his heart, and that he yielded to his urgent desire of coming to the assembly, to testify all the joy with which this union had inspired him."

The king immediately entered the hall, amidst repeated acclamations of "Long live the king !—Long live liberty !" and from the overflowings of his heart, declared his confident hope, that the result of this union would enable France to survive the dangers which threatened her, to which the assembly replied by a suitable address, in which it professed that it "*already saw in the candor of his proceedings, the omens of success.*" The plaudits of the galleries were equally loud with those of the assembly ; and, were it not for the many incredible occurrences that have astonished all mankind, during this revolution, it would scarcely be believed, that only a single Sabbath had passed over, when these very people, assailed this very king, with the heaviest curses and accusations that violence and bitterness could invent.

Dissipation and idleness had long since been so prevalent, that the number of debtors and poor was vastly increased, and many thousands of persons, who were not originally corrupt, became so, in the unprincipled hope of being able to destroy their landlords and creditors, with the overthrow of

royalty. The practice of wounding the king's feelings was now resorted to in every possible shape, and as the late triumph of the mayor afforded a most abundant opportunity, the mob took every means of insulting the king, and his friends, with shouts of "Long live Petion!—Down with royalty," &c.

All business, but that of treason, ceased in Paris from the 3d of August; and the leaders of the national assembly were employed in passing such decrees as should favour the insurgents: patrols of rebels were also placed, by Petion and Santerre, at the outlets of the city, to prevent the possibility of the king's escape. Preparations being made for carrying the decree into execution, on the day before the assembly had resolved to pass it, the palace was attacked on the 10th of August. As many of the leading members of the assembly were desirous of aiding in the assault, who were at the same time desirous of being concealed, it was determined that the riot should not commence till after dark: it was, therefore, not till eleven o'clock that Danton called, "To arms! to arms!" and all the bells were rung, to proclaim the city in a state of insurrection.

The conquest of the palace was not effected so soon as it had been on the 20th of June; for though the attack commenced at one in the morning, it was nine o'clock before the outer gates were forced. There had been some preparations made for resistance, but, like all the efforts of this unfortunate prince, it was rather an *attempt at resolution* than *resolution itself*. Beside part of the Swiss guards, and a few companies of the national grenadiers, who were resolved to defend the constitution, there was a considerable body of royalists, who had entered with a resolution to subdue the traitors or perish in the attempt, the whole together amounting to near three thousand armed men. Such a body, headed by a bold and intrepid chief, would have been more than sufficient to have secured a victory, if they had attacked the insurgents, instead of remaining cooped up in the palace, and acting upon the defensive.

When the assailants had forced the outer gates they were met by the king's guards, who, by a well directed fire, drove them back, and obliged them to leave four pieces of cannon behind them. The Swiss now formed in the great court in order of battle, whilst the cannon playing upon the

palace, had already pierced the roof; the bodies of the slain were strewed on every side, and the folly of resistance became evident every moment; for, in the multitude of advisers, no one had the command. The defenders of the palace in a few minutes became a disorderly crowd, with no advantage over their adversaries, and greatly inferior to them in number. They failed, and they fell—not for want of bravery, but for want of a commander; they were overpowered by numbers, and the triumphant barbarians enjoyed the long looked-for sport of hacking them to pieces and dragging their mangled carcases in their horrible processions. All the Swiss that the mob could find they most inhumanly put to death in cold blood, and exhibited their remains at the end of their pikes! Of both parties about three thousand persons lost their lives in this attack; and the number would have been much greater, but that a part of the guards had gone to escort the royal family to the assembly.

When the general supineness of Louis XVI. is considered, it will excite surprise that any idea should have been at all entertained of making a defence; and it is extremely probable that the measure was rather pressed upon him by the solicitude of his friends than chosen by himself. For he seems invariably to have had such an aversion to the shedding of blood, that he exposed himself to the most unwarrantable treatment, simply because the offenders depended upon his forbearance. The danger was now certainly greater and more pressing than ever, this all his friends and all his family knew; and it is very surprising that he himself, after the length that the assembly had gone, did not perceive, that he must either be driven from his throne or fight in defence of it. Yet he seems to have had no such view of the subject; for, after the palace was attacked, and he was accompanied by the queen, and the princess his sister, in the midst of their brave defenders; after he had heard the terrible howlings of a thousand tongues bellow out the cries of “*deposition!* and *death!*” after the nobles and guards had assured him of victory, and the queen had resolved to die by his side; he took the unaccountable and fatal resolution, of going to throw himself, with his family, into the arms of the national assembly, lest he should be charged with violating the constitution; and, before he quitted the palace, gave strict orders not to fire upon the people!

It would, perhaps, be vain and futile to attempt reconciling this conduct with any principle of human action ; yet, as much censure has been directed against this unfortunate step, it will be doing no more than justice to recollect what was the precise situation of the king, at the moment in which he took that resolution. M. Mandat, the commandant of the national guards, was supposed to be one of the most strenuous supporters of the constitution ; he had promised to take such measures as should greatly retard the operations of the insurgents, by posting troops at different avenues of the city ; he had also pledged himself for the co-operation of the municipality ; he was also to take the command of the palace, and upon his arrangements much was to depend : the king reckoned much upon him, but he did not appear at his post. The king knew nothing of the change of the municipality and as little of the catastrophe of the commandant. He knew that he had been often deceived and betrayed, and, very lately by the whole assembly : he knew that he could find very few persons to be trusted, and those alone whom he did trust could become traitors ; might not then the truant commander have been deceiving him to the last moment : and was it not now a measure of policy to discredit his whole story, by adopting a conduct directly opposite to that which he had said would take place ?

Such, or some such motives, may have occasioned the king's determination ; but, if it should not be admitted that it was guided by any such motive, there is still much ground to suspend a censorious judgment. He had been humbled so rapidly and so excessively, that his train of reasoning must have been very different from that of his cotemporaries ;—it is not every person who knows what he would do in ordinary circumstances, who is capable of judging what he would do in extraordinary cases ; and the situation of Louis at the moment we are speaking of, left every other extraordinary case so far behind, that if a censure should not be passed upon his conduct till it comes from a person qualified to judge, it is very likely that he will not suffer the smallest harshness from the present generation.

A combination of unexampled events had placed him now in a situation the most distressing that can be conceived. The members of the assembly to which he had re-

treated, thought no business of so much urgency as formally passing the decree of deposition ; but these political pharisees could not proceed to any business in the king's presence, because it was *contrary* to the constitution ; this afforded a pretence for forcing the royal family into a little disagreeable corner, where the secretaries kept their books, which deprived them of the poor consolation of exchanging their thoughts, and subjected them to the cruel espionage of a prison, while it was yet pretended that their persons were inviolable.

Having thus inflicted fourteen hours of mortification and pain upon their helpless captives, the vulgar pride of those little-minded men became satiated and appalled with that mode of exercising their tyranny, and, therefore, they decreed that the executive power should be withdrawn from the king, and that he and his family should be confined close prisoners in the Temple. To increase their triumph, and aggravate the pain of the family, orders were given that the traitor Petion should go, in the same carriage, to carry them to prison ; and he not only took occasion to insult them by his advice on their journey, but even stopped the carriage occasionally to let them hear the speeches of the infamous orators who were irritating the people against them by their foul calumnies.

The least reflection upon the conduct of the assembly would be a waste of time, its duplicity and baseness are evident to the most inattentive reader ; and, from what has been already seen, it will excite no surprise, that, after they had removed the king entirely out of their way, they crowned their deceitful and treacherous system by a long series of cruelties, the most refined and atrocious that demons could have devised. Not only were the ministers of the king, but the clergy, the ladies of the household, the pensioners of the family, and many thousands of persons, suspected of being aristocrats, seized, upon the accusations of the hired accomplices of the members, and barbarously torn to pieces by marauding assassins, set in motion by themselves. They were too cowardly to call the obnoxious persons before them and take upon themselves the odium of passing sentence of death upon them for mere difference of political opinion, and therefore they gave latitude to a licentious and brutal people, whom they knew would execute their execra-

ble purpose, without their being obliged to be the immediate perpetrators of the crime.

Thus the revolution had taken a turn which afflicted the hearts and threatened to disappoint the hopes of all good men. The assembly, was, however, about to dissolve ;— for, in compliance with a general demand, a national convention was to meet on the 20th of September, to consider the question of formally constituting a republic, and some consolation remained in the consideration, that this assembly at least would not long retain the power of doing mischief.

CHAPTER IV.

ABOUT the time that the notables met, in the year 1787, the discontents in Paris were considerable, and they increased with rapidity until the year 1789, when the taking of the Bastille by the Parisians commenced the revolution.

Some of those who had early and eagerly crowded to the French capital, expected to derive various advantages from an open rupture with the court ; among them was Napoleon Buonaparte : he had left the regiment of artillery soon after the death of his patron, count Marbœuf, and retired to his paternal home in Corsica ; he there found his mother a widow, in very indigent circumstances, and with several children dependent on her exertions for their support : Napoleon, it is probable, did not add to her incumbrances, though it is not very likely that he contributed to her relief. Neither the education which fits a man for a soldier, nor the manners of the army, are calculated to be serviceable to him in any employment of a rustic nature, or of any other kind that the inconsiderable island of Corsica could offer.

Whilst Buonaparte remained with his mother he continued his application to study ; but though he returned to his books with increased ardour, it was chiefly because the experience he had had in his military capacity had confirmed his attachment to his profession ; he did not labour here with that unremitting attention that he had done in his novi-

ciate at the military school at Brienne. Notwithstanding the exercise and amusements, in which he afterwards took an active part, his constitution had suffered much from long inaction during the first years he was at school : it is true that his form was calculated to resist fatigue and possessed much strength, but he had always the appearance of weak and delicate health ; his despondency of promotion in the king's army heightened the melancholy of his appearance, but the decisiveness of his character imparted a sternness to his countenance that was less agreeable than remarkable in a very young man.

From the principles which Buonaparte had early avowed, it was natural to believe that he should declare against the king. Always unalterable in his attachment to military glory, he did not allow so favourable an opportunity, as the popular discontents at Paris afforded him, of signifying himself, at least by his decision, in favor of some one party. A mind like his forces itself into notice when placed in difficult situations. In that moment, when the timid and the undecided are lost by their own weakness, a strong mind feels its own force, separates itself from the crowd, and stands undauntedly the opponent and the mark of the object it has singled out for destruction. The danger of an early declaration, in the beginning of the disturbances, Buonaparte disdained to shun : he seized with the appearance of enthusiasm, the sense of that *decree* which acknowledged *no distinction* of rank, although some persons might have then rationally conjectured that such an avowal was likely to injure his future fortune.

It is not easy to believe that, with these sentiments, Buonaparte could consider Louis XVI. as the father of his people, and especially when he knew that the throne of that unhappy prince was surrounded by flatterers, who were interested in supporting the most flagrant abuses—that royal favour had become in France the only road which conducted to high military preferment, and that weak and corrupt ministers and an effeminate court, opposed an insurmountable barrier to genuine merit when it ventured to approach the throne : he had, therefore, to expect, in common with every other subaltern officer, who did not possess influence at court, or who had not fortune to purchase influence, very little regard or distinction. A long and faithful service was

often rewarded with a cross of St. Louis; a paltry and empty honour, which decked indiscriminately a faithful defender of the state, or the parasite of a needy courtier.

Buonaparte was not singular in his attachment to the popular cause from these motives, a vast number were excited to a determination to desert the monarch by the same or similar circumstances: it was not, however, these considerations merely that induced others to adhere to the rising opposition, and to increase its numbers by their example and their influence. Some were actuated by motives more sinister even than the disappointment of sanguine expectations, which has been urged to extenuate their conduct. They expected to derive particular advantages if a new order of public affairs were obtained, and they therefore willingly lent their aid to effect that for their private interests, which they never would have attempted from motives of general good and real patriotism. Is it to be supposed that those of the French officers who deserted the king for the sovereign people, had more respect for the people or their cause, than they had for the monarch or his government?

Buonaparte remained at Paris until the year 1790, when the discontents of the Corsicans occasioned an organization of troops in that island, and he was appointed to the command of a battalion of national guards at Ajaccio, his native town; there was little service, however, required of these levies, and Buonaparte had ample leisure to continue his military studies. The war which ensued between France and the combined powers opened a wide field for his observations; the operations of the contending armies, which were so admirably detailed at that period, afforded him an opportunity, which his advantageous situation enabled him to improve, of examining, correcting, and maturing that system of warfare that has since, by its activity and resources, assisted in subjugating some of the fairest provinces of Europe.

The assembly had failed in an attempt to arrest La Fayette: that general imprisoned the commissioners on their arrival at Sedan; and, on the night of the 18th of August, he determined on leaving the army he commanded, and which had already manifested their discontent of his conduct. Before the dawn of morning he mounted his horse,

and, with seventeen companions, quitted the French territory, without having attempted to seduce a single battalion to desert. They hoped to reach some distant country, where they might await better days, in which their virtues and their patriotism might be useful.*

As soon as the assembly were informed of La Fayette's escape, they nominated Dumourier commander in chief. This extraordinary man had been minister at war, and then appeared very friendly disposed towards the king; but, after the defection of La Fayette, he affected counter-revolutionary sentiments, and thus obtained the confidence of the republicans: marshal Luckner also attached himself to the rising party, as well as Biron, Montesquieu, Kellerman, and Custine. Commissioners were deputed to ascertain the sentiments of all the generals, and their report was as successful as the assembly could wish. The appointment of municipal officers, to be with the armies and in the garrisoned towns, and to assist at the councils of war, was a measure

* They had not, however, travelled many miles before they were arrested by an Austrian patrol, and conducted to Luxembourg; they were afterwards separately imprisoned at Wesel. La Fayette here fell sick with mortification, and his life was despaired of. The king of Prussia intimated to him, that his situation would be ameliorated if he would draw up plans against France. The hero spurned the proposal with scorn; his rigours were increased; himself and his companions were conveyed, in a waggon, to Magdebourg, and they remained there during a whole year, in a dark and humid vault, strongly barricadoed. La Fayette, and some others, were removed to Neiss, to be delivered up to Austria, and were, soon after, immured, in separate dungeons, at Olmutz. By the management of two American gentlemen, La Fayette escaped, but was retaken.

His captivity now became more rigorous, and malady increased with great violence. Neither himself, nor any of his fellow-prisoners, had received any information during their confinement respecting their families; Madame La Fayette was imprisoned at Paris, and hourly expected to be led to the national axe. Robespierre fell, her life was preserved, and, sometime afterwards, she was released. At the end of 1795 she had sufficiently recruited her strength to attempt the execution of a project, she had secretly meditated. She arrived at Vienna, with her two daughters, and obtained an audience of the emperor, who would only allow her to share the horrors of her husband's prison. She entered the fortress of Olmutz, with her two lovely daughters, where they were treated with the greatest inhumanity. Her health became, at length, so much injured, that she requested permission to visit Vienna for a week, to breathe the fresh air, and consult a physician; in two months she was informed that this permission was allowed her, on condition that her daughters were confined in an apartment by themselves, and that she herself should never enter the prison again. She instantly wrote a most courageous refusal of this indulgence, and which (in reference to her husband's imprisonment) concludes thus: "Whatever, then, may be the state of my own health, and the inconveniency attending the stay of my daughters in this place, we will most gratefully take advantage of the goodness his imperial majesty has expressed towards us, by the permission to share in all the miseries of this captivity." Never afterwards did the unhappy sufferers complain, although they continued to inhale an air so impregnated and infected by a common sewer, and the privies under La Fayette's window, that the soldiers were accustomed to apply their hands to their noses on opening the door. They were not liberated until Buonaparte interfered on their behalf in 1797. In September they quitted their dungeons: La Fayette, with his family, retired to Hamburgh, and in the beginning of 1800 Buonaparte allowed them to return to France.

fraught with policy, and served the assembly most essentially, when it stood in the greatest need of accurate information respecting the state of the troops, their operations, and the conduct of the officers who had the chief commands.

In the prison of La Force were murdered the ladies of the court, who had been arrested and imprisoned on the day on which the palace was attacked. Among these was the princess de Lamballe, a woman of the most exquisite accomplishments both of body and mind. When she was summoned to appear before this self-constituted tribunal, she was indulging herself in that repose which her melancholy situation too often denied her. She fell a victim to the savage rage of the populace; for on her coming out of the prison, and being filled with horror at the spectacle of the numerous dead bodies, over which she had to pass, a ruffian struck her a violent blow with a sabre, on the hinder part of her head, which occasioned a copious effusion of blood; her bowels and her heart were torn out, and her head placed on a pike. There were other circumstances attending her death, so dreadful, and accompanied with such acts of ferocious indecency, that if it were allowable to relate them, they would appear as incredible as they are dreadful.

Whilst the armies were engaged in an important struggle on the frontiers, the interior of France presented a picture equally interesting and attractive to the friends of mankind. When the royal power was suspended, the assembly had placed the government in the hands of seven ministers, who were denominated the EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, and amongst that number were included those republican ministers of Louis, in whose dismissal he had given so much offence to the assembly and the clubs. These gentlemen found themselves now in a very different situation to what they had been in before; they had no longer the power of holding out the king as a butt of general censure, and they would themselves be responsible for any mal-administration, or miscarriage that might happen in the administration. When they served under the king, they had a power to overturn; at this time they had a power to secure; and though they had done every thing to weaken the government of Louis, as well as to attribute all his endeavours for the preservation of the public peace to a desire of tyrannising over

the people, they now found that the mere title of executive council was insufficient to enable them to administer the laws, unless some means were taken to enforce obedience to them.

Such was the state of things when the season arrived for the meeting of the convention ; to which every one looked with expectation for the restoration of harmony and order.

On the 21st of September, the new representatives having verified their powers, the national assembly resigned its functions, and consigned its power to the convention, by a formal address of renunciation, and a solemn assurance that its members would serve as an advanced guard of the new legislature. As their first act the convention chose Petion their president, and though this circumstance was itself a sufficient indication of a powerful bias against royalty, the leading members were determined to leave no doubts upon the subject ; for, after decreeing that the existing laws should be continued in force, and the existing taxes be demanded, Collet d'Herbois rose, and suggested, that the convention ought not to adjourn, till it had decreed the eternal abolition of royalty in France. Neither the lateness of the evening, nor the importance of the motion, could prevent the deputies from instantly rising to demand that the question might be immediately put. M. Bazire exclaimed against the enthusiasm which had taken possession of their minds, and besought the members to discuss a question of such magnitude with the dignity that became the representatives of a great people. His advice was treated as the dull prudence of a vulgar and plodding mind, which was unworthy the practice of philosophers of superior light, and the national assembly briefly decreed, that "*Royalty is abolished in France.*" Loud applauses, and the exclamations of "*Vive la nation,*" followed the decree ; and minutes of the sitting were ordered to be sent to the departments, and to the armies, as well as to be proclaimed throughout Paris.

From the 21st of September, Dumourier was engaged in various battles on the frontiers. Among the most memorable and important was the battle of Gemappe, which completely decided the fate of the Netherlands. The loss sustained by the Austrians on the 9th November, has been estimated at no less than 4000 killed and wounded, together with a number of

prisoners, while the French had no more than 900 killed, according to Dumourier's own account, although it is probable that the disproportion was not quite so great. This day was also distinguished by some acts of individual valour, which will be remembered by the admirers of fortitude to the latest posterity. Baptiste, general Dumourier's valet-de-chambre, found means to rally and lead on to the charge five squadrons of cavalry, and two battalions of national guards, being the first himself who rushed in, sword in hand, to the entrenchments of the enemy, and completely dislodged them. The aid-de-camp appeared at the bar of the convention, with dispatches from the general in chief, and, like a true son of Mars, introduced himself in these words :

" I am only a soldier, and not an orator—the soldier of
 " a republican army ought never to open his mouth but to
 " bite off the end of his cartridge ; but I present to the just
 " admiration of the convention, the brave Baptiste, general
 " Dumourier's valet-de-chambre, who forced the enemy,
 " sword in hand, to quit their entrenchments. The general
 " having asked him what reward he wished for, he replied,
 " the *honour* of wearing the national uniform."

While Baptiste approached the bar, the hall resounded with reiterated bursts of applause. He was three times embraced by lieutenant-colonel Loure, by whom he was introduced, which again occasioned the plaudits to be renewed, and the president thus addressed him :

" Brave citizen, you have raised yourself to the rank of
 " a first defender of the French republic ; till you receive
 " the reward which it owes you, enter the temple of the
 " laws, amidst our acclamations. The legislators are hap-
 " py to find among them one of the brave conquerors of
 " Mons."

The president then embraced him, and the whole scene terminated with demonstrations of satisfaction and joy.

On the 11th of December the king was brought to the bar, and was allowed to choose M. M. Deseze, Tronchet, and Malesherbes, to defend him. The trial lasted thirty-four days, and then, being persuaded that they had played the farce of solemn decency long enough, the convention pronounced him guilty. Whoever is desirous of forming a clear opinion of these iniquitous proceedings, will do well

to consult the trial, and particularly the defence of Deseze, every word of which proved the innocence of the accused, and the guilt of the accusers.

When the *proces verbal* was read, containing the answers of all the members to the question, *What punishment shall he suffer?* even the blood-hounds of the convention were confounded with horror, when they heard that Philip Egalite, duke of Orleans, the king's own relation, and the only relation whose word had the least influence with the people, had voted for **DEATH!**

During this dreadful situation, Louis requested a respite for only three days, that he might not be hurried into eternity without a suitable preparation for his awful change;—but, with a degree of savage barbarity, which will probably be remembered to their disgrace while time endures, the convention refused to grant his request.

It was two o'clock in the morning of the 19th January before the sentence was finally determined, and the decree ordered to the executive council, who were commanded to notify it to Louis, and to cause it to be executed within twenty-four hours afterwards, and to take every measure of safety and police that should appear to them necessary during the execution.

During the night of the 20th, Paris was illuminated, and no person whatever was permitted to go abroad in the streets. Large bodies of armed men patrolled in every part of that immense metropolis; the noise of coaches ceased, the streets were deserted, and the city was buried in an awful silence. About two o'clock in the morning of the fatal Monday the 21st, voices were heard at intervals, through the gloom of lamentation and distress; but whence they proceeded, or what they were, no person has been able to discover.

This circumstance, among many others, terrified the people. The unhappy monarch spent all Sunday in preparation for his approaching change. His calm resignation, and patience, displayed great eminence of soul; but the meeting and parting of his family was a scene too painful, too distressing to the feelings of humanity! The queen hung round the neck of her departing husband in delirious anguish; the princess royal grasped his hand; the dauphin embraced his knees; and madame Elizabeth bathed his

feet with the torrent of her tears. The queen was at last removed from him in a state of insensibility, from which she did not revive before two o'clock on Monday afternoon. The king exhibited on this sad spectacle, all the tenderness of a husband, a father, a brother; and, appearing more affected by the affliction of persons so dear and so beloved than by his own misfortunes, consoled them with the most soothing words. Having passed through this trying scene, he now applied to his religious duties, and prepared to meet his God. The conversation which he was permitted to hold with his confessor, it is said, was pious, sensible, and animated; and his hope was full of immortality. He protested his innocence, and forgave his enemies from his heart. The clocks of Paris, at length, sounded eight on Monday morning; and he was summoned to his fate. He issued from his prison, and was conducted to a coach belonging to the mayor of Paris, in which were two soldiers of the gendarmerie. He was attended by his confessor, and assisted to step into the carriage by one or two of the sentinels, who stood at the gate of the Temple.

The place appointed for the execution was filled with an immense multitude of people, and large bodies of horse and foot were drawn up to awe the multitude. The most awful silence prevailed, while the coach was advancing slowly towards the scaffold. Louis ascended it with heroic fortitude, with a firm step, and undismayed countenance. He was accompanied on the scaffold by his confessor, and two or three municipal officers. For a moment he looked around upon the people, with a complacent countenance, and he was preparing to address the spectators, when the ruffian Santerre, cried out, "No speeches! come, no speeches!" and suddenly the drums beat, and trumpets sounded. He spoke; but all the expressions that could be distinctly heard, were these:

"I forgive my enemies: may God forgive them, and
"not lay my innocent blood to the charge of the nation!
"God bless my people."

The confessor fell upon his knees, and implored the king's blessing, who gave it him with an affectionate embrace. The unfortunate monarch then laid his head upon the block

with admirable serenity, and ceased to live in this world ! Previous to his execution, he wrote to the national convention, requesting to be buried near to his father in the cathedral of Sens, situated in the department of Yonne, 82 miles south-south-east of Paris, and 35 west-south-west of Troyes, capital of the department of Aube. The convention passed to the order of the day. He was buried in the cemetery ground of the new Magdelaine, about 800 feet north of the place of execution, and the grave filled with hot lime.

Thus perished a prince, whose reign had been marked with fewer instances of oppression than those of sovereigns in general. Nations, who invoke this example as a terrible lesson to kings, will do well to take advantage of the practical inferences that it offers for their own instruction : if it proves that kings are exposed to the just vengeance of the people, it proves equally clearly that the vengeance of the people *is not always just* ! Nations have an undoubted right to punish a tyrant, who places himself above the law, but no individual is capacitated to give an opinion upon such a subject, unless the whole of his own conduct is regulated by the law.

“ Louis the XVIth fell,” says a cotemporary writer, “ in the 39th year of his age, and the 19th of his reign ; and with him fell the monarchy of France, which under three dynasties, had existed nearly fifteen centuries. So strong, at the time of his accession, was the general sentiment in his favour, that he was greeted with the title of Louis the desired. Nor, though afterwards branded with every term of obloquy, did he ever merit the hatred of his subjects. In some measure he resembled Charles the first of England, to whose history he paid great attention. Charles, however, maintained, with vigour and by arms, a contest of some years duration ; and, when at length overcome, uniformly refused to acknowledge the authority by which he was arraigned. He lost his crown and life, but he preserved inviolate the reputation of active courage and unconquerable spirit. Louis may, perhaps, with more propriety, be compared to the sixth Henry. With greater abilities than Henry, he had, in some parts of his character and situation, a strong similarity to that monarch. Both were pious ; both diffident of themselves, and therefore easily swayed by oth-

ers; both espoused princesses of elevated minds; both were deprived of their thrones by their subjects, and both perished by an untimely death.

“The understanding of Louis was much above mediocrity; he had acquired a vast fund of knowledge by reading; his memory was remarkably tenacious: and his judgment in arranging, combining, and applying, what his memory had retained, was often displayed in a manner that was highly creditable to him. On the relative state and interests of France and the European powers, his information was by no means inconsiderable. History and geography were two of his favourite studies. To the former he paid much attention; and such was his proficiency in the latter, that the detailed instructions to the ill-fated navigator Pêrouse, were drawn up by his own hand: he was, indeed, supposed to be the best geographer in his kingdom. With some of the mechanical arts he was also well acquainted, and even occasionally practised them.

“In his moral conduct he was unimpeachable. Just, beneficent, a good husband, a good father, and a lover of his people; he would, had he lived in an age less turbulent, when the higher talents are not required in a ruler, have done honour to a throne. The faith in which he and his ancestors had been educated, he followed with sincerity and warmth, but without any mixture of ill-directed and uncharitable zeal. On the mercy and goodness of the Deity he relied with unfeigned confidence. That reliance afforded him consolation in the latter stormy period of his reign, and fortitude in the hour of death. His weakness resorted to it for support, and it enabled him to triumph over slander, captivity, and the grave.

“Louis yielded at those very moments when he should most vigorously have enforced obedience; when he should fully have asserted his authority, or abandoned life and authority together; passive courage he possessed, but not active.

“Yet even this had its rise in a fault, but it was a fault of so amiable a nature, that it can hardly be censured without pain. It arose from the extreme horror which he always felt of shedding human blood. Looking, however, to the situation in which they are placed, and the high purposes for which they hold that situation, sovereigns ought to

consult, not their *feelings*, but their *duties*. Blind and indiscriminate mercy is, in its effects, the worst of cruelties. Humanity itself imperiously commands the punishment of those who wantonly and wickedly violate the laws on which social order is founded ; and by giving a loose to the most violent passions of man, reduced him to a state of worse than savage nature, since it has all the bad qualities of savage existence without any of its virtues. The monarch is the guardian of the state, and the safety of the state is put to the hazard, when traitors are allowed to conspire with impunity. Nor will the king who tolerates treason long remain a king.

The unfortunate Louis fell a victim to his ignorance of this truth. In his fall he drew down the greatest evils, not only upon his own country, but also upon a considerable part of Europe. The clemency cost the lives of the bravest, the wisest, and noblest characters of the times in which they lived ; covered France with scaffolds and blood ; shook to their foundations, some of the oldest established governments ; and involved others in total destruction.

His fate will operate as a lesson to all sovereigns, and happy will it be for mankind, if the caution thus inspired, does not, sooner or later, degenerate into a gloomy and suspicious tyranny, which, under pretence of resisting innovation, may discourage all reform, and strike the surest and most deadly blows at the very existence of freedom itself. History must lament that he lived in an age, and among a people, when all the vigorous talents of a Henry the Fourth would not have been more than sufficient to preserve, unimpaired, the dignity of the sovereign, and, by that dignity, the peace and welfare of his subjects.

The Belgians had been completely captivated by the first sound of French liberty, and nothing was heard among them but being incorporated with France. The heyday of republican delight was preserved amongst them for some time, by an assurance that they were to be relieved from the burdens imposed upon them by the emperor, and that their brothers, the French, had been induced to rescue them from the yoke, out of mere kindness. But it was a very curious illustration of this fraternity, that the commissioners of the convention gave, when they arrived at Brussels ; for they demanded very heavy contributions to defray the expenses

of the delivering armies. These and numberless other outrages committed in Belgia, Dumourier says, not only alienated the affections of the people from France, but rendered it unsafe for an army to be quartered amongst them; moreover, general Bournonville, who had been appointed minister of war, in lieu of Pache, had resigned the office, from a conviction that the pride and ignorance of the government would defeat all the efforts of its officers.

Under those discouraging circumstances, the French forces met with a very powerful resistance from the Dutch and English troops, which had now prepared to arrest their progress, and as the British gun-boats were able to act in the *Holland Diep*, and *Bies Bosch*, the general thought it adviseable to retreat, lest he should be inclosed between the Hollanders and the incensed Belgians.

Dumourier had gone to Liege, where he was received by the troops with every demonstration of joy, expecting that they would be led to conquests under his command, equally as glorious as what they obtained at Gemappe. It is certain, however, that the native strength and vigour of the French army were now no more, and the man they so much rejoiced to behold again, was not, in point of enthusiasm, the same Dumourier who had formerly conquered the Netherlands. On the 15th of March the Austrians determined on the reduction of Tirlemont; the French had no more than 400 men at that station, yet they fought with incredible fury before they would surrender, and the Austrians were the next day compelled to evacuate it, by Dumourier in person, when they retreated towards St. Tron. On the 18th a desperate engagement was fought at Neerwinden, between the hostile armies, which continued, with unabated fury on both sides, from seven in the morning till five in the afternoon, at which time the French found themselves incapable to cope with the enemy any longer, and the Austrian cavalry completely routed them. The courage of the republicans on this occasion is allowed to have been very great, as well as the skill they exhibited; but they had to contend with superior numbers of well-disciplined troops. M. Dumourier attributes the defeat of this day to the bad conduct of Miranda, who commanded the left wing of the army, to a blunder committed by general La Marche, and the jealousy of Valence.

It is impossible to determine with precision, how far these charges are founded in fact, or how much of the defeat might be owing to the commander himself; but certain it is that general Miranda, in writing to M. Petion, insinuates his suspicions of Dumourier's integrity in terms by no means ambiguous. He declares that it had been the invariable practice of the commander in chief, prior to the battle of Neerwinden, to consult with him upon every emergency; but that for this battle he had not made the least mention of the very arrangements which he proposed to adopt. Miranda says, "At eleven at night my orders were delivered in writing, and I learned in a conversation with him, that we were to offer battle to an enemy 51,000 strong, very advantageously posted, and a formidable artillery, with a force inferior to theirs, and with every disadvantage of situation and encampment—all this was to be effected without having previously reconnoitred the ground, or the particular position of the enemy." The loss sustained by the French in this battle, Dumourier estimates at 3,000 men, with a number of cannon; while the same authority states the loss of the Austrians at 1,400. In addition to this defeat, the army was farther enfeebled by the loss of 6,000 men who deserted, taking their route towards Brussels and France.

On the 21st M. Dumourier took his station at Louvain, and on the ensuing day he experienced a severe attack from the enemy. The contest was remarkably sanguinary, and continued the whole day, terminating in the total defeat of the Imperial troops, who lost a prodigious number of men in killed and wounded. Prior to this engagement the republican commander in chief had dispatched colonel Montjoye to the head-quarters of the prince of Cobourg, to enter into a treaty respecting the wounded and prisoners, concerning which he thus speaks: "He there saw colonel Mack, an officer of uncommon merit, who observed to colonel Montjoye, that it might be equally advantageous to both parties to agree to a suspension of arms. Dumourier, who had deeply considered the situation of his army, sent Montjoye again to colonel Mack on the 22d, to demand if he would come to Louvain, and make the same proposition to Dumourier. Colonel Mack came in the evening. The following articles were verbally agreed to: First, that the Imperialists should not again attack the

French army in great force, nor general Dumourier again offer battle to the Imperialists. Secondly, that on the faith of this tacit armistice, the French should retire to Brussels slowly and in good order, without any opposition from the enemy. And lastly, that Dumourier and colonel Mack should have another interview after the evacuation of Brussels, in order to settle further articles that might then be mutually deemed necessary." Whether it originated from a conviction that Dumourier was not to be trusted, or from some other motive, cannot with certainty be known, but no respect was paid by the Imperialists to the above verbal stipulation, who, under the command of Clairfait, attacked the advanced guard at Pillenberk, which obliged the French general to abandon Louvain. Dumourier, upon this defeat, conveyed the wounded men, and the flour destined for his troops, in boats to Mechlin; from thence he performed his retreat to Brussels during the night, else he would have had reason to repent most bitterly of his late alliance. He speaks in terms not very honourable to the conduct of the Austrians on this occasion; that, if he had not taken the above precaution, he believed that notwithstanding the verbal stipulations agreed to by colonel Mack, they would probably have seized upon this opportunity to destroy, or entirely disperse the French army. On his part he continued to pay the most sacred regard to his promise, and he admits that the prince of Cobourg, discovered some regard to it, by continuing at Louvain for the space of three days longer, watching the rear-guard of the French only by small detachments at a time. Dumourier with his army marched through Brussels on the 25th of March, and now the citadel of Antwerp (about 26 miles north of Brussels) was the only remaining place of which he found it practicable to retain the possession. Here he placed a garrison of 2,000 men, together with provisions to last them six months, with a view to preserve a communication with the troops which had been left at Breda and Gertruydenberg. He intimates that it was his intention to have formed beyond the frontiers of the republic, by Namur, Mons, Tournay, Courtray, Antwerp, and Breda, to afford him the opportunity of putting his army in a more formidable situation; but he declares that the unavoidable evacuation of Namur hav-

ing broken this line, he was completely disconcerted in the execution of his plan.

On the 27th general Dumourier arrived at Ath, at which place he received an order from the convention to arrest general Miranda and the colonel of the 73d regiment of infantry; but, though Dumourier complained of general Miranda, he too well knew the sanguinary temper of the present legislators to execute such orders. Colonel Mack arrived at Ath the same day, when another conference took place between him and the general, the result of which was, "that the French army should remain some time longer in the possession of Mons, Tournay, and Courtray, without being harassed by the Imperial army; that general Dumourier, who stated to *colonel Mack his design of marching against Paris*, should, when their designs were ripe for execution, regulate the motions of the Imperialists, who were to act as auxiliaries in the execution of their plan; that in the case of Dumourier's having no need of assistance, which was to be greatly desired by both parties, the Imperialists should not advance further than the frontiers of France, and that the total evacuation of Belgium should be the price of this condescension; but if Dumourier could not effect the re-establishment of a limited monarchy, (not a counter-revolution,) he himself should indicate the number and kind of troops which the Imperialists should furnish, to aid in the project, and which should be entirely under Dumourier's direction."

When the commissioners who had been appointed to investigate the conduct of Dumourier, returned to Paris, and stated the substance of the conversation, the members of the convention ordered the general to be superseded in the chief command by Bournonville, who was accompanied by four commissioners appointed to arrest him. Wishing to proceed with deliberation, the commissioners did not think proper to go directly to the camp, and therefore they forwarded a summons to M. Dumourier, desiring him to meet them at Lisle, and answer the charges which had been preferred against him. Without intimating any suspicions of danger, he replied, that such was the situation of the army at present, that it required his immediate presence and unremitting attention; as the troops in Antwerp had deserted the place, and he had been obliged to order the garrisons of

Breda and Gertruydenberg to capitulate, on the proviso that they were permitted to return back to France ; he, himself, for the purpose of occupying the camp of Maulde, having raised that of Tournay. At the same time he commanded general Miaczinski, who commanded at Orchies, to proceed with his troops to Lisle, and arrest the commissioners sent from the convention to apprehend him. Miaczinski foolishly made known the object of his mission, which he ought prudently to have concealed, as it was manifestly a hazardous undertaking. The consequence was, that on his entrance into Lisle the gates were immediately shut behind him, he was arrested, conveyed to Paris, condemned and executed by that sanguinary tribunal, the national convention. Dumourier was frustrated in his endeavours to gain possession of Conde and Valenciennes, by the two generals Ferrand and Ecuyer, both invincibly attached to the republican interest, although they owed their elevation in the army entirely to general Dumourier. "Ferrand," says the general, "was arrived at an age when he could not reasonably have been suspected of fanaticism ; he had bitterly exclaimed against anarchy and jacobin principles in times past, but he sacrificed his opinions and his gratitude together."

It was unquestionably a daring attempt to arrest a general of Dumourier's extraordinary talents, at the head of his army, as the commissioners had no reason to believe that his army was disaffected to him. They proceeded (first of April) to M. Dumourier's head-quarters at St. Amand, and, on being introduced to that general, they unequivocally unfolded to him the object of their mission. After a conversation, which lasted some hours, Dumourier found it impracticable to gain them over to his views, or convince them of the madness and wickedness of the Jacobins ; he gave a signal to a party of soldiers to take them into custody, and requested general Clairfait to confine them at Tournay, his then head-quarters, that their lives might be responsible for any injury of a serious nature done to the persons of the royal family of France. In calculating on the co-operation of his army for the purpose of establishing monarchy, M. Dumourier's masterly abilities seem to have deserted him ; for although he might fairly conclude that his soldiers would not permit him to be personally insulted

as a criminal, they were too much enamoured of republican sentiments to assist in the establishment of the old government, however modified.

Having published a manifesto to his army on the evening of the 2d of April, he on the 3d, repaired to the camp to make its contents known to the soldiers, and they gave tokens of approbation respecting his designs. At St. Amand the corps of artillery evinced their satisfaction with his proposal, and he assures us that he could discover no symptoms of disapprobation, but among some battalions of volunteers, who expressed it by murmurs. Next day he set out for Conde, committing the care of St. Amand to general Thouvenot; but, before his arrival at the fortress, he received intelligence of the most humiliating nature, sent by an officer, from his confidential friend, general Neuilly; that the soldiers were almost in a state of open rebellion, on which account he would not advise him to proceed, as his life might be in danger. On his way he passed a body of volunteers taking the same route with himself, but contrary to what he might have expected, they gave him no molestation. Scarcely had he received the message of his friend from the hands of the officer, when a detachment of the volunteers, having abandoned the highway, and running towards him with menacing countenances, exclaimed, "Stop, stop!" It was not now time to deliberate, in the midst of the greatest danger; he mounted a horse belonging to a servant of general Egalite, (then duke de Chatres,) and with the utmost difficulty made his escape, the whole body of volunteers having fired upon him at once.

It was the intention of the general, at this critical and alarming juncture, to reach the camp of Maulde, where he hoped to find protection and esteem; but as this was rendered impracticable, he proceeded by the river Scheldt to the territory of the Imperialists; where he had a conversation with colonel Mack, and spent the whole night in preparing the proclamation of the prince of Cobourg, which was issued the 5th of the month, accompanied by one of his own. It appears that the general placed great reliance upon his influence with the troops, for at this conference it was agreed that when M. Dumourier got possession of Conde, it was to be delivered to the Austrians to be employed as a magazine, should the French commander in chief find it

necessary to apply for assistance to the Imperialists in the prosecution of his plan. Dumourier's proclamation, or manifesto, recounted the signal services he had performed to his country; and he likewise animadverted on the unpardonable neglect of his army during the preceding winter by the war minister. He did not omit the cruel and barbarous treatment of the jacobins towards the most gallant and intrepid officers of the republic, and particularly towards himself. He descanted on the reasons by which he was actuated in arresting the commissioners, insisting that imperious necessity called for such a measure; and gave a most pathetic and animated description of the dreadful evils which would unavoidably come upon France, without the establishment of a rational constitution. He closed his manifesto with an exhortation to the people of France to unite in restoring the constitution of 1789—90 and 91, which they had sworn to maintain; solemnly swearing that he appeared in arms for no other purpose, which having accomplished, he would make a voluntary resignation of all public employment, and enjoy in solitude the pleasing reflection, that he had conferred substantial happiness on his fellow-citizens.

The defection of general Dumourier was by no means the principal embarrassment that the republic met with. The people in many of the western and southern departments of France, arose in open rebellion against the tyranny of the convention. The disorganising spirit of the Jacobins was such, that they paid no regard to the prejudices or the delicacy of the people; but, under the name of fanaticism, they persecuted every thing that was decent and regular. The zealots in religion were shocked by frequent processions of lewd women, heathenishly attired as goddesses, ready to receive the devotions of their licentious worshippers. The friends of virtue were outraged in every relation by the members of the legislature, who, both by their practices and laws, gave every facility to dissolutions of the marriage contract: and the lovers of order were chagrined at the increasing practices of casual cohabitation and irregular intercourse. Novelty seemed to be the ruling principle of the government, and the guillotine the only argument it condescended to use for the conviction of the people. Resistance to such a system became a sacred obliga-

tion, and the persecuted priests took advantage of the public feelings, to arm their flocks, in various parts of the country, into powerful armies against the convention.

La Vendee was the first department that offered any serious opposition to the republic, and there the royalists assembled in great numbers; but they acted rather under the impulse of passion than from any concerted plan. The convention sent a few troops against them, and they were dispersed; although it was known that sixty out of the eighty-four departments were in a high state of disaffection. No blame can attach to the royalists on this account, if it be true, that the courage of the just is inferior to the desperation of the unjust; for the fault of the royalists was, that they were panic-struck with the unheard of and unexpected cruelties of the Jacobins.

On the 31st of March it was announced to the convention, that the national guard had taken 300 of these counter revolutionists prisoners, on the left bank of the Loire, and that they were all immediately massacred in cold blood. This was even considered perfectly regular, for the convention doomed every royalist, if found *with* arms in his hands to be shot; and if *without* arms to be guillotined. A system of terror was established, which rendered a man fearful of his own thoughts, lest they should escape him; and the convention established a scrutinising inquisition, called the REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL; by which they often executed persons whose thoughts were detected by the awkward means they took to conceal them.

CHAPTER V.

ALTHOUGH the evil genius of the English ministry prevented them from sending any auxiliary force to the ports in the channel, the contiguity of which to their shores, would have enabled them to have poured in supplies enough to have encouraged and collected all the insurgents before the convention were prepared for resistance; the chance of getting possession of a French fleet was too powerful a temptation to permit them to refuse a similar invitation from

the inhabitants of Toulon. By an arrangement entered into between certain commissioners from that port and Marseilles, on the part of their fellow-citizens, and lord Hood, on behalf of Great Britain, it was agreed that those ports should be delivered up by the inhabitants to the English, to be retained until peace should take place ; and in the event of the monarchy being restored, then to be returned to France.

After some resistance on the part of the French fleet in the harbour of Toulon, which was occasioned by a difference between admirals Trogoff and St. Julien, its commanders, a part of the English troops were landed ; but scarcely had they taken possession of the place and the fleet, when Barras and Freron, the two national commissioners at Marseilles, made incredible exertions to regain Toulon. The convention eagerly co-operated, by transmitting enormous sums to the southern departments, for the raising and equipping an immense multitude of new battalions.

Some skirmishing ensued between the French and English troops, which ended in the French obtaining one of the advanced posts, and compelling the coalesced forces to concentrate themselves within the forts that protected the place. The English erected redoubts on all the heights, and furnished them with the cannon taken from the lower decks of the French line of battle ships, and large reinforcements of Spanish, Sardinian, and Sicilian troops arrived to the succour of the garrison.

Barras and Freron, commissioners from the convention, assembled all the young men in requisition from the departments ; they were supplied with an immense quantity of artillery, and a reinforcement of 25,000 troops were ordered from Lyons. Each army was employed in attacking and defending detached posts ; and the heights of *La Grasse* were defended by heavy cannon, dragged up a very steep ascent with infinite labour and extraordinary dispatch.

The French were equally indefatigable in the night of the 30th of September ; they made an attack on fort Faron and succeeded. So important was the possession of this post, which was abandoned by the Spanish garrison, that it was, even at that period, calculated to render the possession of Toulon precarious. A council of officers immediately assembled, and it was determined to re-obtain the

redoubt. An obstinate engagement was fought, and the French upon the heights, at length abandoned Faron; and not more than a fourth of their number returned to headquarters; for those who did not fall by the bullet or bayonet, broke their necks in tumbling headlong over the precipices in their flight. The English afterwards succeeded in destroying two new batteries which were likely to annoy the fleet; but such was the ardour and perseverance of the French, that a detachment under Lapoype, stormed and took possession of the heights of Cape Brun. The success of this event, acquired by superiority of numbers, rendered the fate of the garrison daily more hazardous.

At length, Napoleon Buonaparte, who had re-entered the corps of artillery, and served in it as a lieutenant, was recommended by his countryman Salicetti, the deputy from Corsica, and one of the national commissioners with the army at Toulon, to Barras, who immediately promoted him to the rank of general, and gave him the command of the artillery destined for the reduction of the arsenal. The event justified the prudence of the appointment, for our hero contributed, by his military talents, greatly to effect the decision of both the fate of Toulon and of France.

The first military operation of Buonaparte was decisive of success. Seeing that the possession of Malbousquet, one of the principal outposts of Toulon, would enable him to bombard the town and arsenal, he opened a strong battery of heavy cannon and mortars on the height of Arenes, which annoyed that position exceedingly, by means of an incessant fire of shot and shells. Governor O'Hara observing the necessity of taking immediate and effectual measures for the security of so important a post, determined to destroy the new works, which were termed the convention battery, and carry off the artillery.

Having procured a reinforcement of seamen from the fleet, to defend a post, from which he proposed to withdraw some British soldiers; at five o'clock in the morning of the 30th of November, a corps of 400 British, 300 Sardinians, 600 Neapolitans, 600 Spaniards, and 400 French, marched from the town, under the command of sir David Dundas. Notwithstanding they were obliged to cross the new river, on one bridge only, to divide afterwards into four columns, to march across olive grounds, intersected by stone walls,

and to ascend a very considerable height, cut into vine terraces, they succeeded in surprising the redoubt ;— but, instead of forming upon and occupying the long and narrow summit of the hill, agreeable to orders and military prudence, after having effected all the objects of the expedition ; they impetuously followed the French troops, descended the heights, ascended other distant heights, and at length were compelled to retreat, by the French ; who suddenly profited by their disorder, and obliged them to relinquish the advantages they had at first obtained. General O'Hara, who had ascended the battery as soon as the French were dispossessed, and when he supposed the object of the day had been obtained, arrived in time to witness the sudden reverse, and to be wounded and made prisoner by the French. His wound, though not dangerous, had bled much, and, added to the exertions he had before made, he was so far weakened that he could not retire many paces with the troops, but insisted on being left by two soldiers who were conducting him, and whom he ordered to proceed and save themselves.

The expectations of the besiegers were much raised by this event, they began to make nearer approaches to the town ; and by means of their batteries, not only attacked several important posts, but threatened a general assault.— The garrison was in a very alarming situation ; the French army, which amounted to near 40,000 men, was constantly increasing, and commanded by an intrepid and able general ; and their batteries were managed under the direction of Buonaparte ; who, though a mere youth, displayed the most cool and dauntless courage. The allied troops never exceeded 12,000 rank and file, and were now greatly diminished by disease and death : they were composed of the natives of five different nations, from whom an entire and firm co-operation could not, from the difference of their language and other obvious causes, be expected. These had to defend a circumference of fifteen miles, including eight principal and intermediate posts, which alone required 9,000 men.

The siege was now pursued with increased vigour. The French relieved such of their troops as were fatigued, and at two o'clock in the morning of the 17th of December, opened two new batteries on fort Mulgrave ; and from

these, and three former ones, continued a very heavy cannonade and bombardment, which killed many of the troops and destroyed the works. The weather proving rainy, they secretly assembled a large body of forces, with which they stormed the fortification, and entered with screwed bayonets, on the side defended by the Spaniards, upon which the British and other troops were obliged to retire towards the shore of Balaquier.

At day-break another attack took place on all the posts occupied by the garrison on the mountain of Faron. They were repulsed however, on the east side, by about 700 men, commanded by colonel Jermagnan, a Piedmontese officer, who perished on the occasion; but they found means to penetrate by the back of the mountain, although 1,800 feet high, and deemed inaccessible, so as to occupy the side which overlooks Toulon. In this day's fight the English troops conducted themselves with great bravery; while the French, invigorated by their enthusiasm, and trusting to their numbers, charged with unusual intrepidity and success. The deputy Arena, who was a Corsican, headed one of their columns; and general Cervoni, a subject of the king of Sardinia, particularly distinguished himself.

The new general, Buonaparte, signalized himself on several occasions by a promptitude of exertion which marked him for one of the ablest candidates for military glory and renown. It is stated that, in the midst of the engagement, Barras found fault with the direction of a gun, which had been pointed under the order of Buonaparte: the young general requested he would attend to his duty as a national commissioner; "I will do my duty," said he, "according to my own judgment, and be answerable for the consequences with my head." Nor friend nor foe were capable of inducing him to forego any purpose which he had planned.

The genius and talents of Buonaparte were developed by this siege; it was a stage worthy of his action, and the remembrance of his exertions at this important period, was serviceable to his future advancement in the armies of the republic.

During the siege of Toulon, a conflict equally sanguinary, took place at Lyons; but the people of this place proceeded with more caution, for they maintained the indivisibility of the republic, and professed the warmest attach-

ment to the convention, at the time that they were collecting troops, with the greatest activity, to repel any army that might be sent against them, when they should think proper to show their insurgency. The chief inhabitants were persons who had obtained wealth by trade and manufactures, who were desirous of enjoying their property in ease and safety, and were but little solicitous about the triumph of liberty. Many of the ancient nobles, and a multitude of emigrants and priests were sheltered there ; and the crimes of the violent demagogues, who arrogated to themselves the name of patriots, tended to excite in Lyons a powerful insurrection.

The scenes we have mentioned were truly tragical and terrible ; but so trivial did they appear in the eyes of the convention, that they were, almost at the same instant, amusing themselves with an alteration of the calendar, dividing the year into twelve months of thirty days each, and conferring on the five intercalary days the odd epithet of *sans-culottides*, afterwards complimentary days. Each month was divided into three decades, or periods of ten days, and the tenth, not the seventh, was appointed to be a day of rest. They made the republican year to commence on the 23d of September ; the anniversary of the convention entering upon its functions, began the republican era from that day, dated all their public acts subsequent to that period.

It was enacted, about the same time, that every priest found in arms against the interest of the republic should be punished as a traitor ; and that all men of this profession under sixty years of age should be banished to French Guiana, if they had not previously taken the oaths prescribed by the constitution.

Dreadfully have mankind exclaimed against the impiety and infidelity of the French, and they gave too much reason for the charge. On the 7th of November, 1794, the republican bishop of Paris, M. Gobet, his vicars, and different other members of the ecclesiastical body, entered the hall of the convention, where they made a solemn surrender of their offices, and of the christian religion, at the same time. Only one, of the name of Gregoire, (bishop of Blois,) had the magnanimity to confess himself a christian, while he declared that he was ready to sacrifice the emoluments of his office to the good of the republic. The attempts to anni-

hilate religion, and establish pagan absurdity in its place, did not, we must allow, meet with the approbation of the people at large. To the honour of Frenchmen be it spoken, this measure was highly unpopular. Hebert and Fabre d'Eglantine were supposed to be the grand promoters of this blasphemous step, by which they accelerated their own destruction, and Robespierre made himself remarkably popular by his defence of religion. By a decree of the commune, the churches were ordered to be shut up, but so highly irritated were the people of Paris at such a procedure, that they were obliged to reverse it on the 1st of December, when Barrere proclaimed the freedom of religious worship. It appears from this, that the charge of infidelity is wholly unfounded, when brought against the people of France in general; and if some leading men among them were tinctured with atheism, the same may be said of every country upon earth. Because there are numbers of infidels in this country, it would be unjust for that reason to pronounce the kingdom of Great Britain a nation of atheists. The shocking decree of the 7th of November was, in some degree compensated by an act of the 15th, which abolished for ever the immoral and disgraceful practice of lotteries.

About the tenth of July the French armies of the North, Sambre and Meuse, effected a junction at Brussels, and obtained an immense quantity of stores, as well as magazines, during their rapid and almost uninterrupted career. The luxuriant crops of the Netherlands were then upon the ground; and the republicans levied on the corporations, and particularly the monks, considerable contributions of money and corn. Nieuport gallantly resisted till the 19th, although during the whole period of the blockade, it was dreadfully bombarded by an army of 30,000 men.

His royal highness, the duke of York, about this period received from the prince of Cobourg a letter, in which, speaking of the allied powers, he uses this memorable expression: "We are (or seem to be) bewitched." He certainly could not have more forcibly expressed the total want of system in their co-operations. Neither skill, courage, or experience on the part of the commanders were of avail in the execution of these ill-concerted operations.

The prince of Orange was stationed at Waterloo, but

on account of the strong reinforcements which the enemy were constantly receiving, he soon found this post no longer tenable, and on the 16th he retreated across the Doyle, with considerable loss. He fixed his head-quarters at Niel, where the French did not allow him to continue long. Their victories, promptitude and courage, rendered them invincible to the armies of the allies. The stadtholder invited the Dutch, by repeated proclamations, to give every tenth man for the service of his country, to humble the pride of France; but which his subjects listened to with much coldness and indifference.

In the mean time, general Kleber took his route from Brussels towards Louvain, on the 15th of July, having one division under his command; to favour which movement, Lefevre, Dubois, Championet, and Morlet, continued their march in the front of the Doyle. At a place denominated the Iron Mountain, general Clairfait attempted to stop the progress of the enemy, but was totally defeated, with the loss of 6,000 men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The abbey of Florival was seized upon by generals Dubois and Lefevre, while Kleber attacked Louvain, with the advanced guard of his army, which, after a gallant resistance, was compelled to surrender. In the rapid retreat of the Austrians towards Tirlemont, before the victorious republicans under the command of Lefevre, they lost a prodigious number of men in killed and taken prisoners.

The defence of Namur was seriously intended by the combined powers, but the career of the enemy was so astonishing (and as little minds seldom anticipate great results, so unexpected) that the execution of their plan became wholly impracticable. Namur was, therefore, evacuated in the night of the 16th, by general Beaulieu, and, on the 20th the keys of it were presented at the bar of the convention.

The armies of the republic at the same period, forced the famous pass at the town of Lier, which was defended by general Walmoden; and they dispatched a trumpeter to Antwerp, to announce their rapid march, and a design of entering that city. On the 24th they obtained possession of Antwerp without trouble or opposition, and found immense magazines of hay, and thirty pieces of cannon, notwithstanding the combined powers had destroyed magazines

of forage, prior to their departure, which were valued at half a million sterling.

The retreat of the Austrians from Louvain, left the whole territory of Liege exposed to the incursions of the intrepid Jourdan. He pressed the enemy closely to Maestricht, when his advanced guard proceeded, on the 27th, towards the river Jaar, at which time the combined army was stationed before Liege, where it resisted the cannonade of the French for some time, but was at length obliged to retreat with loss. The republicans entered Liege, while the allies entrenched themselves on the heights of Chartreux.

During these transactions, the allies were under the necessity of abandoning fort Lillo, on the river Scheldt, while general Moreau made himself master of the island of Cadsand, in which were found seventy pieces of cannon, one third of which were brass, besides a great number of tents and waggons, with a vast quantity of military and other stores. General Almain, summoned the garrison of Sluys to surrender; but Vanderdugan replied, "the honour of defending a place like Sluys, that of commanding a brave garrison, and the confidence they repose in me, are my answer." This brave officer sustained the incessant assaults of the besiegers till the 25th of August, at which period he surrendered. The whole garrison were made prisoners, but the French general permitted them to march out with the honours of war, in testimony of the gallant defence they had made. The armies of the Rhine and Moselle had also their share of glory. General Michaud gave the Austrians and Prussians battle at Spires. A dreadful and sanguinary conflict ensued, and victory appeared doubtful. Early the next day the French engaged the Prussians with still greater vigour, and carried by assault, after seven attacks, the important posts which the Prussians had fortified on the summit of Platoberg, said to be the loftiest mountain in the territory of Deux Ponts. Here the republicans obtained possession of nine guns, independent of ammunition, waggons, horses, and a number of prisoners. The remainder of the Prussian troops, commanded by the prince of Hohenlohe, retreated to Edickhoffen. At Tripstadt, after a severe and bloody contest, the French were completely victorious, and took possession of two howitzers, with six pieces of cannon.

On the afternoon of the 15th a still more brilliant engagement took place. The French attacked every post belonging to the enemy, from Newstadt to the Rhine, (a distance of about 17 miles,) along the river Rebach. A heavy cannonade was commenced at two o'clock, and continued till eight in the evening, at which time the troops of the emperor retreated with the utmost precipitation and disorder, and effected the passage of the Rhine, while the Prussians, under prince Hohenlohe, retreated towards Guntersblum, and another detachment towards Mentz. Keiserslautern surrendered to the French without any opposition.

The army of the Moselle having marched in three separate columns, engaged to meet together at Treves at the same hour. In their route they attacked and carried many posts belonging to the allies, fulfilling their engagement on the 8th, by meeting on a spacious plain, and immediately surrounding Treves. The Imperial troops having deserted the city in the greatest hurry and confusion, one of the columns entered in the afternoon; the magistrates, in the insignia of their office, presenting them, at the gates, with the keys.

The republicans determined to retake the garrisons they had previously conquered, and which had been again subdued by the allies. General Scherer laid siege to Landrecy, but before he fired a gun, peremptorily summoned the town to surrender, and failed not at the same time to acquaint the garrison that no terms of capitulation would be accepted. On the 15th, therefore, the garrison, consisting of 2,000 men, complied, and 117 pieces of cannon were found in the place. Quesnoy followed the example of Landrecy. It was defended by 3,000 men; and the republicans found in it vast quantities of arms, ammunition, and provisions, together with 119 pieces of cannon.

On the 26th Valenciennes also fell into the hands of the French. The republicans here found immense stores of every description, together with 1,000 cattle, 200 pieces of cannon, 1,000,000 pounds of gunpowder, 3,000,000 of florins in specie, 6,500,000 of livres, and vast quantities of oats and other corn, which perhaps might be estimated at 1,000,000 sterling. His Imperial Majesty had expended not less than 3,000,000 on the fortifications, but it treache-

rously surrendered by capitulation. The allies upon this occasion delivered up near 1,000 emigrants to the implacable hatred and vengeance of their countrymen! The policy is detestable which affords protection to men so unfortunately circumstanced, and betrays them in the moment of danger.

The surrender of Conde immediately followed. The garrison consisted of 1,600 men, who surrendered as prisoners of war; and in addition to the vast quantities of provision it contained, the French found 161 pieces of cannon, 6,000 muskets, independent of those in the garrison; 300,000 pounds of gunpowder, 100,000 bombs, balls, and shells; 1,500,000 cartridges, 600,000 pounds of lead, and 191 waggons with stores and provisions. The fortifications stood in no need of repair; and the garrison had room for a much greater number of men.

The British army, on retreating from Antwerp, took its route towards Breda. The right column went through the city on the 4th of August, and the left marched round it, for the purpose of occupying a position about four miles distant, to wait the issue of events, and co-operate with the garrison. In the mean time the prince of Orange was incessantly employed in putting the town and garrison in the best situation for defence, which, it was reasonable to believe, would be powerfully assisted against the enemy by the duke of York's army, at that time consisting of 25,000 men. The duke, however, retreated from Breda towards Bois-le-Duc, in the end of August, meeting with little or no opposition from the enemy.

In the beginning of September, general Pichegru appeared at the head of 80,000 men. The republicans forced the posts on the Dommel and the village of Boxtel on the 24th, with their advanced guard. His royal highness retreated across the Meuse on the 16th, and occupied a position about three miles from Greve. In the attack of the republicans on the above mentioned posts, the Dutch state that the allies lost 2,000 men, and add, that the duke of York's retreat gave such an easy passage into Holland, after crossing the Meuse, in the vicinity of Bommel, that an enemy possessed of much less courage and intrepidity than the French would have readily undertaken it.

No sooner were the Netherlands evacuated, than the

prince of Cobourg employed all his efforts, by virtue of a proclamation, to rouse the circles of Germany to make a desperate effort in the vindication of Germanic liberty. He frankly confessed that the resources of the French were inexhaustible, and their forces innumerable. He declared that if they did not come boldly forward, and assist to the utmost of their power in repelling the invaders, he would pass the Rhine, leaving them and their property to be plundered by the republicans. This manifesto produced no more effect than a similar manifesto of the stadtholder, who declared, that "such an enemy could not be opposed by *scanty contributions*; and that the force that should be opposed to them required the greatest efforts."

This, however, was not the season for issuing manifestoes, after the French had been so eminently victorious in almost every quarter; but the emperor thought himself under an equal necessity to try the experiment. He acknowledged that his resources were wholly inadequate to the task of combating such an enemy with any hope of success. He seemed to feel indignant at the conduct of his Prussian majesty, in accepting a subsidy from Great Britain, and neglecting so shamefully to fulfil his compact. He declared, that such was the prodigious strength of the French armies, and so inconceivably rapid their march, that he found it absolutely necessary to withdraw his forces from the unavailing contest, and employ them in defending the frontiers of his own dominions. Although this melancholy picture had no effect on the circles of Germany, notwithstanding they were so near the scene of action, it gave no small degree of alarm to the British cabinet. Earl Spencer and the honourable Thomas Grenville were immediately dispatched to the court of Vienna, to implore the emperor not to recede from the coalition. They were, at length, successful, and the prediction was verified, that "the subsidising of Prussia would induce other powers to make a dupe of this country, and only continue the war upon similar conditions." This regulation having been effected, the prince of Saxe Cobourg was dismissed from his command, and took leave of his army in a most pathetic address.

In the beginning of September the Austrians under general Latour, were strongly intrenched in the vicinity of Liege; and two fortified camps were occupied by 18,000

men on the right side of the river Aywaille, whose banks had also the natural defence of very steep rocks. The republicans, who, on the 18th, attacked, in four columns, the whole of the enemy's line from the Aywaille, carried all the passages at the point of the bayonet, and took possession of the camps at full charge. The loss sustained by the Austrians, upon this occasion, amounted to 2,000 men killed, 700 prisoners, 26 pieces of cannon, three pairs of colours, 100 horses, and forty ammunition waggons, together with the general's own carriage, his secretary and his papers. General Clairfait, then posted between Liege and Maestricht, sent eighteen battalions for the support of the left wing of Latour, by which opportune assistance he was enabled, on the night of the 18th, to collect the scattered fragments of his army. The French again gave him battle on the ensuing day, and he was under the necessity of retreating to Herve, after the loss of all his artillery.

General Clairfait being no longer able to maintain his position, retreated to Juliers; and, on the 21st, the French made their triumphant entrance into Aix-la-Chapelle. The day prior to this event an engagement took place between a division of the republican army and the Austrian rear-guard, at Clermont, which is only worthy of notice to display one of those surprising instances of inconsistency discovered between different official accounts. According to the statement of general Clairfait, the French lost 2,000 men, and the Austrians only 30 killed and 300 wounded; while the republican commissioner Gillett, states the loss of the Austrians at 800 men, and their own at only 9 killed, and 12 wounded.

The position of Clairfait at Juliers, was taken with that judgment and military knowledge for which he has always been eminently distinguished; but the French, on the 29th, crossed the Roer, and gave battle to the whole posts of the brave, but unfortunate, Austrian commander, which extended from Ruremonde to Juliers and Duren, a distance of 32 miles. The conflict between the hostile armies was terrible, and continued during the whole of the 29th and 30th of September, and on the 1st and 2d of October, but on the 3d, victory declared in favour of the republicans. Clairfait being no longer able to maintain the combat, and having suffered a dreadful loss, he took advantage of a fog,

to effect his retreat. The city of Juliers immediately surrendered, the arsenal of which was abundantly supplied; the French found in it 60 pieces of cannon, together with 50,000 pounds of gunpowder. The Austrian general could only retreat in the greatest confusion, so that he lost prodigious numbers of men in retreating as well as fighting. They were estimated by the French at 5,000, including 700 prisoners; and the Dutch official accounts stated the whole loss of the allies, during the action and retreat, at 13,000 men.

Cologne was taken possession of by the French on the 6th of October, and they were received by the inhabitants with every demonstration of joy. Venlo and Nuys also surrendered, and many vessels on the rivers, laden with useful and valuable articles, were captured. Fifty chasseurs entered Bonn on the morning of the 7th, who, on the evening of the same day, were followed by 3,000 more.

Coblentz had become odious to the republicans, as being earliest and most forward in harbouring the emigrants. The allies were engaged for the space of two months in erecting very formidable redoubts before it. In October general Jourdan sent general Marceau to Coblentz, with the division under his command, who fell in with the hussars of the allies on the 22d, when he vigorously engaged them, killed vast numbers, and took 50 prisoners. On the ensuing day he carried the redoubts with his infantry, by assault, and completely turned them by his cavalry, which obliged the Austrians to repass the Rhine in the greatest confusion. The republican army of the Rhine was also marching from victory to victory. Frankendal submitted to the French on the 17th of October, and the next day they made their triumphant entrance into the city of Worms. The army of the Moselle likewise made a conquest of Bingen, from which capture the siege of Mentz may be considered as begun.

CHAPTER VI.

DURING the time that the French arms were victorious in every part of the continent of Europe, to which they had been borne, and whilst they were "conquering peace," with Prussia, Spain, Hesse Cassel, and Hanover ; when every continental power with whom they warred, seemed either paralyzed by imbecility, or maddened to exertion by frenzy, and France herself was daily acquiring immense physical strength, and adding new states to her dominion ; whilst the republican troops were taking possession of the Low Countries, the stadtholder and his family flying for refuge to the British shores, and the British army retreating before the French, who pursued them through Holland, the English cabinet were deeply engaged in directing the conquest and annexation of the island of Corsica to the crown of Great Britain.

Seven cities disputed for the honour of having given birth to Homer. The favoured city, and its remembrance are alike sepultured by the operations of time ; and the enthusiast of ancient poesy laments, that he knows not where to place his foot, and to exclaim with certainty, " Here was born the father of Greek poetry, and the most exalted genius that the world hath seen." The reverence and esteem which we entertain for the wise and the good, our admiration of the hero, and our love of the patriot, our veneration of the moralist, and our respect for the philosopher, attach us to the localities that are marked by some peculiar circumstances of their career. Their birth-place, the scenes where they spent their youth, or where they declined in their age, the apartments in which they were cradled, or the tombs which received their remains, exceedingly interest our feelings, and excite the fondest remembrances. So also our hatred of the bad, our detestation of the tyrant, and our contempt for the weak and the foolish, induce in us corresponding sensations, on beholding any object which recalls their wickedness, their crimes, or their vanity, to our recollection.

The inconsiderable island of Corsica has many claims to the notice of the philosophical historian : he that would re-

cord events for the instruction of posterity, must not merely narrate their occurrence, he must investigate the origin of tyranny and of treason, of success and of defeat, in the council, in the senate, and in the field. The means by which the few control the many, and by which the people are transferred from one master to another; the policy which ensured their effectual resistance, or their final subdual; the genius, the talents, the arts, the manners, and the literature of a country, are to be dispassionately estimated, compared, and reasoned by the historian, or future generations will receive no advantage from his industry. A state may be small, but the people may be great; it may have little power, but much principle; be liable to great oppression, and yet possess much independence. A great and a powerful state may be composed of a slavish, depraved, and unenlightened people, without arts and without industry; its political strength may be greater than the former, whilst its moral advantages are less. Corsica affords an ample illustration of these remarks; and, were it allowable to investigate history in this work, admirable examples of the virtue, and the patriotism of its natives might be adduced; that island is only considered of importance here, and its history will be sketched, and its present situation be described, merely, to gratify the curiosity which is naturally excited, respecting that country which gave birth to Napoleon Buonaparte.

Corsica is an island situated in the Mediterranean sea, and separated from the island of Sardinia, by the strait of Bonifacio; it is about 170 miles east of Toulon, 100 miles south of Genoa, and 80 miles south-west of Leghorn. It is 150 miles in length from north to south, and from 40 to 50 miles in breadth; it is about 500 miles in circumference, and is bordered by many bays and promontories.

The atmosphere is pure and healthy, and it is one of the most temperate countries in the south of Europe. The harbours are very numerous; on the north it has Conturi; on the west St. Fiorenzo, Isola Rossa, Calvi and Ajaccio; on the south Bonifacio; and on the east Porto Vecchio, Bastia, and Macinajo. A chain of mountains rises beyond Aleria, stretching across the island from east to west, but not dividing it in equal parts, although the great division of Corsica is into the *Di qua dei Monti*, the country on this

side the mountains, and the *Di la dei Monti*, the country on the other side the mountains, reckoning from Bastia : the coast is diversified by mountainous rocky hills, covered with vines, olives, and mulberries, and by plains and rich waving lands, abounding with corn and pasturage ; the province of Balagna may be called the garden of Corsica ; near St. Fiorenzo, however, are some low marshy grounds, which render that town very unhealthy ; the interior of the island is, in general, mountainous, but interspersed with fruitful vallies, and large tracts of inhabited woodland. The farmers live in villages, so that there is scarcely a detached farm-house to be seen.

The island is extremely well watered ; it has many lakes and rivers, but none of the rivers are navigable, for their currents are extremely rapid, and sometimes the torrents, after great rains, bring down fragments from the mountains, large enough to dash a vessel to pieces ; their produce is confined to trouts and eels, but on the coast are found sturgeons and pilchards of exquisite taste, and remarkably fine oysters. The animals of the island are horses of a very small breed, very similar to shelties ; asses, and mules, very small, but strong, and black cattle, which are larger in proportion, but they give very little milk, and their flesh is tough : the natives use oil instead of butter, but make, in some parts, a good deal of cheese. Goats browse on the hills, and the sheep are very fine, the pasture being better adapted to the smaller animals. The forests abound with deer, and an animal resembling a stag, with horns like a ram ; it is wild, and called a muffoli. The Corsicans delight in hunting the wild boar, for which they have a breed of dogs peculiarly excellent : they have hares and foxes, but neither rabbits nor wolves : they have plenty of birds and game, and no poisonous animals. The forests are extensive, with every kind of forest trees ; pomegranate trees grow to great perfection, as well as the mulberry, and,

“ The arbutus rears his scarlet fruit,

“ Luxuriant, mantling o’er the craggy steeps.”

The grain, is wheat, barley, rye, and millet : honey is obtained in vast quantities, but the taste is rather bitter. In the island are mines of lead, iron, copper, silver, alum, and saltpetre ; granite, porphyry, jasper, and rock crystal, are

very abundant, and great quantities of coral are fished up on the coast.

Bastia, which is on the east side of the island, is considered the capital of Corsica; it has a noble appearance from the sea, being built on the declivity of a hill: it has a castle which commands the town and harbour; its cathedral is not remarkable, but the church of St. John is a fine building; the port, however, cannot be entered by ships of war. Corte is in the centre of the island, and is *properly* the capital; it is situated partly at the foot and partly on the declivity of a rock, in a plain, surrounded by mountains of a prodigious height, and at the confluence of the rivers Tavignano and Restonica. Upon the point of a rock which rises above the rest, is the castle, which has only one winding passage to climb up to it, and where only two persons can go abreast. This town has a university.

Ajaccio, which is on the west side of the island, and is the handsomest town, claims the distinction of having given birth to Napoleon Buonaparte: it has many good straits and beautiful walks, with a citadel and a palace. The inhabitants of Ajaccio are the most genteel and well-bred people in the island: it contains the remains of a colony of Greeks, who formed a settlement there in 1677. The harbour is wide, safe, and commodious, and has an excellent mole.

Calvi, situated on the west side of the island, has nothing remarkable but a large and convenient harbour. Corsica has numerous other towns, but those already mentioned are the principal.

The Greeks called this island Callista and Cyrenus: the Romans knew it by its present name; it was first inhabited by a colony of Phenicians, and afterwards by the Phoceans, the Etruscans, and the Carthaginians successively: then came the Romans, who settled two colonies here. After the fall of the Roman empire, it passed through the hands of the Goths, the Greek emperors, the Lombards, and the Saracens.

In the eighth century Corsica was conquered by Charles Martel, who presented it to the see of Rome, by whom it was afterwards transferred to the Pisans, and from whom it was conquered by Genoa. The Genoese treated the na-

tives so tyrannically that they were often in a state of insurrection, which, for want of a leader, was soon suppressed.

Henry II. of France, assisted by Solymán, the magnificent emperor of the Turks, invaded the island in the year 1553, and they were joined by the insurgent inhabitants; but the Genoese, assisted by Charles V. of Spain, prevented their success. The war was terminated by an accommodation honourable to the Corsicans. The dominion of the Genoese was intolerable: they exercised all the rigour that arbitrary power could inflict, and practised every species of extortion and cruelty: they degraded the noble families, sent multitudes of natives to the galleys for trifling offences, prohibited all foreign trade with the natives, and put over them needy adventurers for governors, whose desperate fortunes rendered them haughty, avaricious, and tyrannical.

The Corsicans were despised, oppressed, and plundered until the year 1729, when a poor elderly woman being unable to pay to a Genoese collector a Paoli, a piece of money of about the value of five-pence English currency, her effects were seized. The inhabitants eagerly espoused her cause, a conflict ensued, and they became masters of the capital, and proceeded to elect military chiefs. The Genoese, unable to subdue them alone, solicited, and obtained, the powerful assistance of the emperor Charles VI. The Corsicans were once more compelled to enter into an accommodation with their tyrants; on condition, however, that the emperor would guarantee the treaty, which was accordingly signed in 1735.

This treaty was violated the next year by the Genoese, and the Corsicans resumed their arms. They elected for their general, Giafferi, one of their military chiefs in the last insurrection; and with him they associated Giacinto Paoli, a gentleman of good family, of distinguished merit, and the father of the celebrated general Pascal Paoli. It was during this war, in the year 1736, that Theodore Baron Neuhoff appeared in the island, with assurances to the Corsicans of a very powerful assistance. This singular person was of the county of Marck, in Westphalia. He had his education in the French service, and had travelled, in pursuit of different projects, into England, the Netherlands, and Italy. He was a man of abilities and address; and having conceived the design of becoming king of Corsica, he

went to Tunis, where he found means to obtain a supply of money, arms, and ammunition. He then repaired to Leghorn, whence he wrote a letter to the Corsican chiefs, Giafferi and Paoli, offering considerable assistance to the nation, on condition that they would elect him their king. In consequence of the favourable manner in which this application was received he landed in Corsica, in the spring of 1736. He was a person of a very stately appearance, and the Turkish dress which he wore, added to the dignity of his mein. He brought with him about 1,000 zechins of Tunis, besides arms and ammunition. His manners were so engaging, and his promises of foreign assistance so plausible and magnificent, that he was immediately proclaimed king. He assumed every mark of royal dignity, had his guards and officers of state, conferred titles of honour, and coined money, both silver and copper. He immediately blocked up the Genoese fortifications, and was neither inactive nor unsuccessful in his warlike operations; but the powerful assistance he had promised not having arrived, the Corsicans exhibited marks of disapprobation. In about eight months after his election he found it expedient to leave them; assuring them that he would go in person in search of the long expected succours; and, having formed a plan of administration in his absence, he quitted the island in November. The courts of Great Britain and France had forbidden their subjects, by proclamation, from furnishing any kind of assistance to the Corsicans. He repaired, therefore, to Holland, where he procured credit to a great extent, from several rich merchants, who trusted him with cannon, and other warlike stores, under the charge of a supercargo. With these he returned to Corsica in 1739; and, on his arrival, says the historian of Corsica, "he put to death the supercargo, that he might not have any trouble from demands being made upon him." The French, however, became so powerful in the island, that, although Theodore threw in his supply of warlike stores, he durst not venture his person, the Genoese having set a high price upon his head. He chose, therefore, to relinquish his throne, and to sacrifice his ambition to his safety. In a word, after experiencing great vicissitudes of fortune, he came to England; but his situation here, by degrees, grew wretched, and he was reduced to such distress as to

be several years before his death, confined for debt in this island of liberty.

The late Horace Walpole, earl of Orford, greatly interested himself in procuring a subscription in favour of the unfortunate Theodore: "How must I blush for my countrymen," says he, "when I mention a monarch, an unhappy monarch, now actually suffered to languish for debt in one of the common prisons of this city! A monarch, whose courage raised him to a throne, not by a succession of ambitious bloody acts, but by the voluntary election of an injured people, who had the common right of mankind to freedom, and the uncommon resolution of determining to be free! This prince is Theodore, king of Corsica! a man, whose claim to royalty is as indisputable as the most ancient titles to any monarchy can pretend to be; that is, the *choice of his subjects*; the only kind of title allowed in the excellent Gothic constitutions, from whence we derive our own; the same kind of title, which endears the present royal family to Englishmen; and the only kind of title, against which, perhaps, no objection can lie.

"This prince," he continues, "after having bravely exposed his life and crown in defence of the rights of his subjects, miscarried, as Cato and other patriot heroes did before him. For many years he struggled with fortune, and left no means untried, which indefatigable policy or solicitation of succours could attempt, to recover his crown. At last, when he had discharged his duty to his subjects and himself, he chose this country for his retirement; not to indulge a voluptuous inglorious ease, but to enjoy the participation of those blessings, which he had so vainly endeavoured to fix to his Corsicans. Here for some months he bore, with more philosophic dignity, the loss of his crown, than Charles V. Casimir of Poland, or any of those visionaries, who wantonly resigned theirs, to partake the sluggish indolence, and, at length, the disquiets, of a cloister. Theodore, though resigned to his fortunes, had none of that contemptible apathy, which almost lifted our James II. to the supreme honour of monkish sainthood.

"The veracity of an historian obliges me not to disguise the situation of his Corsican majesty's revenue, which has reduced him to be a prisoner for debt in the King's Bench; and so cruelly has fortune exercised her rigours upon him,

that, last session of parliament, he was examined before a committee of the house of commons, on the hardships to which the prisoners in that gaol had been subject. Yet let not ill-nature make sport with these misfortunes ! His majesty had nothing to blush at, nothing to palliate, in the recapitulation of his distresses. The debts on his civil list were owing to no misapplication, no improvidence of his own, no corruption of his ministers, no indulgence to favourites or ministers. His diet was philosophic, his palace humble, his robes decent ; yet his butcher, his landlady, and his tailor, could not continue to supply an establishment, which had no demesnes to support it, no taxes to maintain it, no excises, no lotteries, to provide funds for its deficiencies and emergencies."

Mr. Walpole proceeds with some other observations in the same strain, and then proposes "a subscription for a *subsidy* for the use of his Corsican majesty." This actually took place, and a very handsome sum was produced. Some gentlemen waited upon him with the amount of the subscription. His lodging was in a garret ; an armed-chair under the tester of his bedstead, was the only state which marked the reception of the deputation. He was, at last, freed from prison by an act of insolvency, in consequence of which he made over his kingdom of Corsica for the benefit of his creditors, and which was actually registered accordingly. He died soon after, and was buried in the church-yard of St. Anne's, Soho, where a plain monument is erected to him, with the following inscription :

Near this place is interred Theodore, king of Corsica, who died in this parish, December 11, 1756, immediately after leaving the King's Bench prison, by the benefit of the act of insolvency ; in consequence of which he registered his kingdom of Corsica for the benefit of his creditors.

The grave, great teacher ! to a level brings
 Heroes, and beggars, galley-slaves, and kings ;
 But Theodore this moral learn'd, ere dead :
 Fate pour'd its lesson on his living head,
 Bestow'd a kingdom, and deny'd him bread. }

Theodore left a son, who lived many years in this country, under the name of colonel Frederick, and who shot himself in the year 1796, in great distress of mind, occasioned by the indigence of his circumstances, under the portal of Westminster Abbey. The colonel had a son, an officer in the British army, who was killed in the Amer-

ican war. The Genoese now had recourse to the French king, who sent an army into the island in 1738, and in 1740, effectually reduced it. At the end of the year 1741, the French having more important objects in view, withdrew their forces from the island, after having put the Genoese in complete possession of it. But the moment that the French had left the island, the Corsicans resumed their arms; and, from that period, the war continued under different chiefs, till 1755, when Pascal Paoli, was elected to the chief command. Great Britain had forbidden her subjects to give any assistance to the Corsicans; but, in 1745, in consequence of a revolution in her political connections, some English ships of war, with a Corsican chief on board, were sent into the Mediterranean, as auxiliaries to the king of Sardinia. These ships bombarded Bastia and Fiorenzo, of which they put the Corsicans in possession. At the peace, however, in 1763, a severe proclamation was issued by the British court, in which these brave islanders were styled *rebels*. Paoli had the address to engage all ranks to exert themselves in providing what was necessary for carrying on the war with spirit, and soon drove the Genoese to the most remote corners of the island. He rectified innumerable abuses, and formed a regular system of administration. He civilized the manners of the Corsicans, established a university, and settled schools for the instruction of children in every village of the kingdom. He induced the Corsicans to apply to agriculture, commerce, and civil occupations, which had been interrupted to the ruin of industry, by the long continuance of the war. The nation became firm and united; and had not the French again interposed, the Corsicans would have entirely expelled the Genoese from the island. But when Paoli was on the point of successfully terminating the war, the Genoese, in 1764, concluded a treaty with the French, by which the latter engaged to garrison the fortified towns of Corsica for the term of four years. In 1767, the Genoese sold their claim of sovereignty to the French king, who, that very year, in addition to the garrisons already in Corsica, sent another powerful body of troops, under the command of the count de Vaux. Flattering manifestoes were published, in order to induce the Corsicans to become subjects of France; but,

fired by the love of liberty, they defeated the French in several engagements. Fresh troops being sent from France, the contest, at length, became too unequal; the natives, weakened by their victories, were obliged to submit; and, in June, 1769, the brave Paoli, compelled to abandon his country to its fate, embarked on board an English ship, landed at Leghorn, and, repairing soon after to London, lived there many years, protected and supported by the British court.

Corsica being thus subdued, the French commander proceeded to new model the government of the island, which was placed under the jurisdiction of the parliament of Provence. In the mean time, the natives abandoned their country in great numbers; while the most intrepid of those that remained took shelter in the mountainous parts, whence they seized every opportunity of falling upon their enemies, when separated into small parties; and they put to death, without mercy, all the French that fell into their hands. As nothing could subdue the unconquerable spirit of the natives, the most shocking cruelties were, at length, exercised upon all of them who were made prisoners; and by the year 1778, when the French king, who had *enslaved* these islanders, declared himself the protector and guardian of the *liberties* of America (an interference, which in the event, proved so fatal to himself) the poor, friendless, and deserted Corsicans, were nearly extirpated.

The memorable revolution of France in 1789, produced, at last, an unexpected change in the political aspect of Corsica. From the period in which it was conquered, this island had been retained in subjection by the strong fetters only of military despotism. They had never ratified the infamous contract by which a nation was transferred, like a flock of sheep, from the dominion of Genoa to that of France. The meeting of the states general at Versailles had revived, within the bosoms of these brave men, the unsubdued spirit of liberty, and the hopes of being reinstated in their rights. These hopes were succeeded by a sinister rumour, that they were once more to be ceded to the detested dominion of Genoa; or, at least, that they were to be still retained as a servile appendage to a land of freedom. In such a state of doubt and perplexity the passions of the multitude are easily excited. They proposed

immediately to form a national guard; the citizens of Bastia assembled for that purpose in the church of St. John; the army marched to disperse them, and in the contest some lives were lost. In this state of ferment the island remained, when deputies (among whom was Pascal Paoli, who, at this important crisis, had revisited his native country) appeared at the bar of the national constituent assembly, entreating, in the name of the people of Corsica, that they might be irrevocably united, by a decree of the legislature, to the French nation, as a constituent part of the empire. Such a request was too reasonable, and too flattering to the assembly not to be instantly complied with; and Corsica was decreed to be an eighty-third department of France. This was followed by a motion of the count de Mirabeau (who lamented that his youth had been disgraced by participating in the conquest of this island) to restore all who had emigrated, except on account of civil crimes, to their rank, their rights, and their property. The illustrious Paoli, who had so often appeared as the general in chief, was now content to be commandant of the national guard at Bastia.

In the year 1790 Buonaparte received the command of a battalion of national guards at Ajaccio, and remained on duty in his native town, until he re-entered the corps of artillery to which he had formerly been attached, and for his services at Toulon, received the rank of general. This instance of wisdom and liberality in the first national assembly of France (who, at the time that they solemnly renounced all views of war and conquest, appeared desirous of establishing throughout their empire, the blessings of real liberty) seemed to promise an inseparable connection between France and Corsica. But, on the dissolution of this assembly (the virtuous members of which had imprudently disqualified themselves from being rechosen in the next) their successors were men of very inferior talents and characters, and actuated by less enlightened views. The events which followed the revolution of the 10th of August, 1792, were not such as were calculated to ensure the attachment of the Corsicans to the new republic. Dissatisfaction with the measures of the French convention, and particularly with those which evinced an intention to overthrow all religion, became so manifest, that it soon

excited to suspicion, and roused to violence. On the 2d of April, 1793, the popular society of Toulon accused general Paoli to the convention, as a supporter of despotism. They alleged, that the general, in concert with the administrators of the department, had inflicted every kind of hardship upon the patriots, and at the same time favoured the emigrants and the refractory priests. They demanded that he should fall under the avenging sword of the law. The convention decreed that general Paoli, and the attorney general of the department of Corsica, should be ordered to the bar to give an account of their conduct.

On the fourth of May, however, the convention received a letter from the commissioners sent to Corsica, to arrest general Paoli, that they thought it unsafe to attempt that measure for the present, and on the sixteenth of the same month, a letter was read from the general, regretting that his extreme old age, and bodily infirmities, rendered it impossible for him to cross the sea, and afterwards travel two hundred leagues by land, to appear at the bar of the convention, but offering to retire from his country, if it were deemed necessary to the safety and peace of Corsica. In October, however, Paoli sent a pressing request to lord Hood, for a few ships, to co-operate with him against the French in the island, and to attack the redoubt of Fornilli (a post about two miles distant from the town of Fiorenzo.) Captain Linzee, however, failed from false intelligence being given him respecting a range of cannon, which annoyed him from the town, and also from the want of ardour on the part of the Corsicans, who had promised to storm the posts on the land side, though they never made the smallest movement to effect that service during the whole of the action, and by which the whole force of the enemy was directed against the British.

In May, 1794, lord Hood obtained the surrender of the town and citadel of Bastia, from Gentili the commandant, and in July the union of the island of Corsica to the crown of Great Britain was formally concluded. General Paoli assisted in effecting this measure by a very spirited and patriotic address to the people. The town of Calvi surrendered on the 10th of August, after a siege of 51 days. Sir Gilbert Elliot was appointed viceroy, and met the first parliament of Corsica, on the 9th February, 1795.

Thus was the country, which gave birth to Napoleon Buonaparte, transferred to the dominion of Great Britain, at a period when the whole world was confounded by the progress of the French arms; when the plans of the British government itself were frustrated by the subjugation of Holland, and almost every country on the continent distressed in its means and resources.

CHAPTER VII.

A PASSION for military glory is inseparable from great military talents: he, whose capacity and personal services have eminently assisted in successfully terminating an exploit of great magnitude, or danger, will court an opportunity of procuring further fame: he will eagerly seek in other fields for other laurels; and should he even be disappointed in a fresh adventure, this with the remembrance of former good fortune, will stimulate him to more vigorous exertions: his ardour will be tempered by caution, and a determined perseverance will ensure ultimate prosperity to his pursuits. Experience will counsel the wise in their career; and though they may reject the suggestions of timidity, they will not refuse to be guided by prudence.

The young general Buonaparte, after the siege of Toulon, in which his achievements were so conspicuous, and where he obtained the rank of general, was sent to Nice, but was arrested there by Beffroi, the deputy, who previously displaced him from his command. He was charged with being a terrorist, and with his conduct after the siege of Toulon, having been sanguinary towards the persecuted inhabitants: he was soon released, but he lost his command in the artillery, although he was not discharged the service: he was offered a command in the infantry, but he refused to accept it.

During his stay at Nice the events of the war offered materials of great value, to a mind so imbued with military enthusiasm: he was almost constantly employed, and spent many hours of the night in study. One of his friends, on a very particular occasion, went to his apartments long be-

fore day, and not doubting but he was in bed, knocked softly at the door, for fear of disturbing him too abruptly; but, upon entering his chamber, he was surprised to find Buonaparte dressed, as in the day, with plans, maps, and numerous books lying around him. "What," said his friend, "not yet in bed?"—"In bed," answered Buonaparte, "I am already risen."—"Indeed," observed the other, "what, so early?"—"Yes, so early; two or three hours are enough for sleep."

Soon after he was free from arrest, he hastened to Paris to lodge his complaints. Aubry, the representative, who was then at the head of the military department of the committee of public safety, refused him any thing more than the commission in the infantry he had been before offered. Buonaparte demanded his discharge, which was refused: he then asked permission to retire to Constantinople, in all probability with a view of serving in the Turkish army, but this was also refused.

He obtained, however, in the year 1794, the command of an expedition fitted out against Ajaccio, his native town, in the island of Corsica: he was repulsed, however, in the attempt, by one of his own relations, named Masteria, who was at that time in the British service, and had served under general Elliot, at the siege of Gibraltar. The object of the expedition was defeated, and it returned to France.

Buonaparte has been frequently said to have been in England to solicit government for a commission in the British army: the observation has been denied, as often, perhaps, as it has been made; and no authority having been mentioned to support the truth of the fact of his having been in England at all, has, at length, been entirely disbelieved. We can, however, declare, that Buonaparte was in England, but the object of his appearance here is not known. He lodged at a house in the Adelphi, in the Strand, and remained in London but a short time. This information was obtained from general Miranda, personally, who says he visited him in England at the time. We therefore give the fact from that general's statement which he made on the enquiry being put to him, during the last time he was in this country, before his expedition to South America: it is probable, that the period when Buonaparte was here, was about the middle of the year 1793; for the con-

vention suspecting him, whilst he held a command in Corsica, of tampering, with others, to surrender the island to the English, the deputies Le Courbe, St. Michael, and two others, ordered his arrest : he left the army in consequence, and perhaps he came to England immediately, and departed time enough to be present at the siege of Toulon.

After Buonaparte had been displaced from the artillery, and after his ill-success before Ajaccio, he remained in great obscurity, and was subject to considerable pecuniary embarrassment : his friends were not numerous, and he was from time to time indebted for five or six livres to M. Guérin, a merchant at Marseilles ; but the assistance he received from others was even more trifling than this. His prospects were dimmed by adversity, and he had no certain expectation of either employment or support, until the latter end of the year 1795.

After the inauguration of the directory, Buonaparte, as general of the armed force of Paris, waited on each of the five directors. Carnot, who succeeded Sieyès, lived at the top of a house beneath the ruins of the Luxembourg, his official apartments not being ready : it was on a Monday that Buonaparte presented himself, which was the day whereon a celebrated writer regularly visited Carnot. This person was singing an air, accompanied by a young lady on the piano-forte. The appearance of Buonaparte, a little well made olive complexioned youth, amid five or six tall young men, who seemed to pay him great attention, was a very surprising contrast : he entered the room, bowing with an air of ease and self-possession, and the author in question, asked Carnot who the gentlemen were. The director answered, "the general of the armed force of Paris, and his aid-de-camps." His dissimilarity to such generals as Santerre or Rossignol was striking. "What is his name?" said the author. "Buonaparte." "Has he great military skill?" "So it is said." "What has he ever done that is remarkable?" "He is the officer who commanded the troops of the convention on the day of Vendémiaire." The shade deepened on the countenance of the inquirer ; he was one of the electors of Vendémiaire ; he retired to an obscure part of the room, and observed the new visitor in thoughtfulness and silence.

Buonaparte seeing the young lady still at her instrument, and the company attending solely to him, said, "I have put a stop to your amusements : some person was singing, I beg I may not interrupt the party." The director apologized ; the general insisted, and after two or three national airs had been played, he rose, and took his leave. As soon as he had departed, the conversation turned on Buonaparte, and Carnot predicted from that short interview, that the youthful general would not long retain a command, that an aspiring genius could consider merely as a step to future fame and glory.

Barras was not deficient in discernment ; he had a quick perception of abilities, and he, therefore, duly appreciated the exertions of Buonaparte ; he saw that a man endowed with so much observation and energy, was fitted for a station in which vigilance and activity were essentially requisite, and he procured Buonaparte to be advanced to the command of the army of the interior : the high rank which he acquired by this appointment, was accompanied by adequate emoluments, and carried with it considerable influence.

Josephine La Pagerie, at twenty-two years of age, married the viscount Alexander de Beauharnois, major in a royal French regiment of infantry : they were both descended from noble families, both natives of Martinique, and both educated in France. The handsome fortune of the beautiful Josephine La Pagerie was an agreeable addition to the slender income of the youthful viscount : their expenditure was liberal ; and having been introduced at court, their rank, the urbanity of their manners, and the elegance of their entertainments, ensured them the best company in Paris.

At the commencement of the revolution, M. de Beauharnois was chosen, by the nobility of the bailiwick of Blois, a deputy to the states-general, or national assembly ; and, in June, 1791, he was elected their president, and in that capacity signed the proclamation to the French people, on the journey of the king to Varennes. He served under general Biron, in April, 1792, and bore the rank of adjutant-general, when the French were defeated near Mons. He afterwards succeeded Custine in the command of the army of the Rhine ; was suspended by the deputies in August, 1793, and

shortly after, arrested with his wife. He was consigned to the guillotine on the 23d of July, 1794: if Robespierre had not followed him a few days after, Madame Beauharnois would also have perished on the republican scaffold. In one of the 36 lists of persons destined by Fouquier Thionville to supply the guillotine for 36 successive days, appeared the name of Madame de Beauharnois; another list contained the name of Barras. On the 12th of August, 1794, she was released by Legendre. Barras caused the national seals to be taken off her house, in the Rue de Victoires, a few weeks after, and continued to honour her with his protection, by sojourning in her hotel, until October, 1795, when his appointment to the office of director, required that he should occupy the splendid suite of apartments assigned him in the palace of the Luxembourg.

Barras, invested with the dignity of one of the chief magistrates of France, did not find it convenient to continue his intimacy with Madame Beauharnois: if their attachment had been mutual, it was either easily subdued, or it had suddenly subsided, for the lady agreed to an arrangement, which evinced her obedience to the wishes of her friend, and the self-command that she had acquired over her own feelings: she consented to give her hand to Napoleon Buonaparte, the general of the interior, if the general himself could be induced to offer her his vows of conjugal affection. The plan was formed, and Barras proceeded to effect its completion, to provide his mistress with a husband, and his friend with a wife.

The army of Italy was without a leader: Carnot displaced general Scherer for habitual intoxication. Buonaparte having shewn his talents for command, as well as for execution, both at Toulon and on the 13th Vendemiaire, Barras recommended him to Carnot, as the most likely man to serve the republic faithfully in Italy. Carnot's high opinion of the genius of Buonaparte seconded the nomination. Barras offered to Buonaparte Madame Beauharnois, and 500,000 livres, and Carnot offered him the army. Barras told him that the lady and the army were equally necessary to a youthful and aspiring general: his friendship, his gallantry, and his ambition were roused, and as the terms of the offer implied, that neither could be gratified without the other, he obliged his friend Barras, and

became the husband of Madame Beauharnois, and commander in chief of the army of Italy.

Buonaparte arrived at the head-quarters early in the spring of 1796, and only awaited the disappearance of the snow to commence his operations. In the interim he lived familiarly with the soldiers, marched on foot, at their head, suffered their hardships and privations, redressed their grievances, and acquired, by attention to their desires, their esteem and affection. The strength of his army was very inferior in point of numbers to that of his enemies: "But, if we are vanquished," said he, "I shall have too much; if conquerors, we stand in need of nothing."

The Austrians and Piedmontese occupied all the passes and heights of the Alps which command the river of Genoa. The French had their right supported by Savona, and their left towards Montenotte, while two demi-brigades were considerably advanced in front of their right, at Voltri.

After some days spent in movements intended to deceive the French, hostilities were commenced by the Imperialists. Beaulieu ordered 10,000 men, on the 9th of April, 1796, to attack the post of Voltri. General Cervoni, with 3,000 men retreated, during night, in great order, to the church of Our Lady of Savona, and Buonaparte covered his retreat with 1,500 men, posted for that purpose in the avenues of Sospello, and on the heights of Verraggio. On the 10th, about four in the morning, Beaulieu, at the head of 15,000 men, attacked and drove in all the posts, which supported the centre of the French, and presented himself at one o'clock of the day, before the redoubt of Montenotte, the last of their entrenchments. Notwithstanding repeated charges, this redoubt kept firm, and arrested the progress of the enemy. The chief of brigade, Rampon, who commanded these 1,500 men, made his soldiers, in the midst of the fire, take an oath to perish in the redoubt, and, during the whole night, kept the enemy at the distance of pistol-shot. In the night-time, general Laharpe, with all the troops of the right, took post behind the redoubt, and Buonaparte, followed by the generals Berthier and Massena, and the commissioner Salicetti, brought up the troops of his centre and his left, at one o'clock in the morning, by Altara, on the flank and rear of the Austrians. On the 11th, at day-break, Beaulieu and Laharpe, attacked and charged each other with

vigour and various success, when Massena appeared scattering death and terror on the flank and rear of the Austro-Sardinians, where general Argenteau commanded. Soon after, the enemy's generals, Roccavino and Argenteau, were wounded, and the rout became complete. Fifteen hundred men were killed, and 2,500 made prisoners, of which 60 were officers; several standards were also taken. The French made themselves masters of Carcara on the 12th, and also of Cairo.

Beaulieu, although beaten, was still able to send assistance from his right wing to the left of the Austro-Sardinian army. Buonaparte removed his head-quarters to Carcara on the 12th, and ordered general Laharpe to march to Sozello, in order to menace the eight battalions of the enemy stationed there, and to repair, on the day following, by a rapid and concealed march, to the town of Cairo; while general Massena was directed to gain the heights of Dego, at the same time that the generals Menaud and Joubert occupied, one the heights of Biestro, and the other the interesting position of St. Marguerite. This movement following the battle of Montenotte, placed the French army on the other side of the Alps.

On the 13th of April, 1796, at day-break, general Augereau forced the defiles of Millesimo, while the generals Menaud and Joubert drove the enemy from all the neighbouring posts, and surrounded a corps of 1,500 Austrian grenadiers, commanded by lieutenant-general Provera in person, a knight of the order of Maria Theresa, who gallantly retired to a summit of the mountain of Cossaria, and entrenched himself in the ruins of an old castle, extremely strong, on account of its position. Augereau ordered his artillery to advance, when both kept up a cannonade for several hours. At eleven o'clock of the day, Buonaparte, vexed at finding his march arrested by a handful of men, ordered general Provera to be summoned to surrender: the latter requested to speak with the commander in chief, but a lively cannonade commencing on the right wing of the French prevented him from repairing to Provera, who continued to treat with general Augereau for several hours: Augereau, at length, formed his men into four columns, and advanced against the castle. Already had Joubert entered the enemy's entrenchments with seven men, when,

being wounded in the head, he was thrown on the ground ; and his soldiers thinking him dead, the movement of his column relaxed. The second column, commanded by general Banel, advanced in silence, when the general was killed at the foot of the enemy's entrenchments. The third column, under adjutant-general Quenin, who was also killed, was in like manner disconcerted.

Night approaching gave Buonaparte reason to fear, that the enemy would attempt to make their way, sword in hand : he, therefore, ordered all the battalions to unite, epaulments of casks to be formed, and howitzer batteries planted within half a musket-shot of the enemy.

At dawn of day on the 14th, the hostile armies faced each other : the French left, under Augereau, kept general Provera blockaded : several of the enemy's regiments, and among others that of Belgiojoso, attempted to penetrate the centre of the French, but were vigorously repulsed by general Menaud, who was then directed to fall back on the right wing. Before one o'clock at noon, general Massena extended his line beyond the enemy's left, which occupied the village of Dego with strong entrenchments and vigorous batteries. The French pushed forward their light troops as far as the road leading from Dego to Spino. General Laharpe marched with his division in three close columns ; the one on his left, commanded by general Causse, crossed the Bormida under the enemy's fire, with the water up to their middle, and attacked the right of the enemy's left wing.—General Cervoni, at the head of the second column, also passed the Bormida, under the protection of one of the French batteries, and advanced immediately against the enemy ; while the third column, under adjutant-general Boyer, turned a ravine, and cut off their retreat. The enemy, surrounded on all sides, had not time to capitulate ; and the French columns, spreading every where terror and death, put them to the rout. While the right of the French made the necessary dispositions for attacking the enemy's left, general Provera, with the corps he commanded at Cossaria, surrendered prisoners of war. By this victory, the French acquired from seven to nine thousand prisoners ; and the enemy had between 2,000 and 2,500 killed.

On the 15th at day-break, Beaulieu, with 7,000 Austrians, the flower of his army, attacked the village of Dego

with great boldness, and carried it. Massena, as soon as he had formed part of his troops, began the attack, but was repulsed in three different attempts. General Causse was not more fortunate; having rallied the 99th demi-brigade, he attacked the enemy, and was on the point of charging with the bayonet, when he fell mortally wounded. In this condition, perceiving general Buonaparte, he collected his remaining strength, and asked him if Dego was retaken—"The posts are ours!" replied the general—"Then," said Causse, "*Vive la Republique!* I die content." The affair, however, was not yet decided, and it was already two o'clock of the afternoon. Buonaparte ordered a demi-brigade to form in column under general Victor, whilst adjutant-general Lanus, rallying a demi-brigade of light infantry, precipitated himself, at their head, on the enemy's left. These combined movements carried Dego: the cavalry completed the rout of the enemy, who left 600 dead and 1,400 prisoners. General Rusca had made himself master of the post of San-Giovanni, which commands the valley of the Bormida. General Augereau, having dislodged the enemy from the redoubts of Montezemo, opened a communication with the valley of the Tanaro, which Serrurier's division had already occupied.

The activity with which these measures were executed cannot be too much remarked. The directory in their letter to Buonaparte, expressed the satisfaction they felt, in finding the choice they had made of him to conduct the army of Italy to victory, justified by the laurels he had gained. "To-day, general!" said they, "receive the tribute of national gratitude; merit it more and more, and prove to Europe, that Beaulieu, by changing the field of battle has not changed his opponent; that, beaten in the north, he shall be constantly defeated by the brave army of Italy; and that, with such defenders, liberty shall triumph over the impotent efforts of the enemies of the republic."

On the 26th, general Buonaparte published the following address to his army, from the head-quarters at Cherasco:

"Soldiers! In the course of 14 days you have acquired six victories, taken 21 stand of colours, 50 pieces of cannon, several strong fortresses, and conquered the richest portion of Piedmont: you have taken 1,500 prisoners, and killed and wounded more than 10,000 men: you have hitherto,

however, fought only for sterile rocks, rendered famous by your courage, but useless to your country, and by your services, you have emulated the conquering army of Holland and the Rhine. Destitute of every thing, you have supplied every thing; without cannon you have gained battles; without bridges you have crossed rivers; without shoes you have performed forced marches; without brandy, and often without bread, you have spent the night in arms. Republican phalanxes! the soldiers of liberty are alone capable of suffering what you have experienced, and your grateful country will owe to you a part of its prosperity. If the recovery of Toulon presaged the immortal campaign of 1793, your present victories augur a campaign still more glorious. The two armies, that but lately attacked you with audacity, now fly, in terror, before you; and the base men, who ridiculed your misery, and inwardly rejoiced at the triumph of the foe, are abashed and tremble.

“It is, however, not to be dissembled, that you have effected nothing, while there remains any thing to be performed. Neither Turin nor Milan are yet in your possession, and the ashes of the conquerors of the Tarquins are still trodden on by the assassins of Basseville.

“At the commencement of the campaign you were destitute of every thing; to-day you are abundantly supplied; the magazines taken from the enemy are numerous, and the heavy and field artillery have arrived. Your native land has a right to expect great things from you, and you will justify its expectation. The greatest obstacles have been surmounted, but you have still battles to fight, cities to take, and rivers to pass. Is there one among you whose courage fails? Are there any who prefer to re-cross the peaks of the Appenines and the Alps, and patiently submit to the insults of a slavish soldiery? No,—such a one exists not among the conquerors of Montenotte, of Millesimo, of Dego, and of Mondovi; all burn to extend afar the glory of the French nation; all are eager to humble those arrogant monarchs, who dared to meditate the slavery of France; all of us wish to dictate a glorious peace, that will indemnify our country for the immense sacrifices it has made: and every one wishes, on returning to his native village, to be able to assert with pride, that he was of the conquering army of Italy.

"This conquest I promise to you, but on a condition that it is necessary you should swear to observe. This condition is, to respect the people whom you liberate, and to repress the dreadful pillage which are only committed by miscreants. Without the observance of this, the republican army will not be the deliverers of the people, but their scourges; they will not be the honour of the French nation, but they will be disclaimed by their country; your victories, your courage, your success, and the blood of your brethren who have fallen in battles—all, even their honour, and your glory will be lost. As to myself, and the generals enjoying the confidence of the troops, they will blush to command an army without discipline or restraint, and which recognizes no law, but that of force. Invested with the national authority, and rendered strong by justice and the laws, I know how to compel the few, who are destitute of courage and sentiment, to respect the laws of humanity and honour, should they dare to trample them under foot. I will not suffer brigands to sully the laurels of the army of Italy; I will see that every regulation be rigorously executed; marauders shall be shot without pity. Already some have fallen victims to this odious crime; but I remarked with pleasure the eagerness and good conduct which my brave fellow-soldiers have displayed in executing their orders.

"I proclaim to the nation of Italy, that the French army come to break their chains; that the French people are the friends of all nations; and I call on them to approach with confidence; and I declare, that their property, their religion, and usages, will be respected, that the French troops, in making war, will prove a generous enemy, and that they are the foes of those tyrants only, who enslave Italy."

Buonaparte, in his dispatches, informed the directory of his intention of sending to Paris, as soon as possible, the finest pictures of Corregio, and among others, a St. Jerome, said to be his master-piece.—"I confess," observed Buonaparte, "this saint has chosen an unlucky moment to arrive at Paris; but I hope you will grant him the honours of the museum."

The senate of Venice ordered Louis XVIII. to quit its territories, and the grand duke of Tuscany sued for favour. The king of Naples sent a minister to Genoa to negotiate

for peace, and all the sea-ports of the peninsula were shut against the English. The route to Milan, which had been opened to the French, was not secure until the Austrians should be driven from the banks of the Adda. Buonaparte had disposed the march of his divisions in such a manner, that, in less than three hours, he could unite them in any one point ; but Beaulieu had already placed the Adda between himself and the French, and waited them, in order of battle, at the end of a bridge, 100 toises in length, and he hoped to arrest their progress by covering it with a numerous artillery. This bridge, to pass which was even a bolder undertaking than crossing the Po, lay at the town of Lodi : it was at the head of this bridge, on the side next the city, that Buonaparte was to plant, under a shower of grape shot, two pieces of cannon, in order to prevent the enemy from breaking it down, whilst a column was forming to carry the pass. The French entered Lodi, and Beaulieu, with his whole army and 30 pieces of heavy cannon, defended the passage of the bridge. Buonaparte ordered a battery to be formed of all his artillery, and the cannonade continued for several hours with great vivacity. As the troops arrived they formed in close column with the second battalion of carabineers at their head, followed by all the grenadier battalions, at charge-step, amidst reiterated acclamations of *Vive la Republique !* They presented themselves at the bridge ; but the Austrians kept up so tremendous a fire, that the soldiers who advanced fell by columns ; they retreated, but were again rallied on, and the slaughter was again dreadful ; a second time they retreated, but Buonaparte was immoveable in his determination ; again they rushed forward, over the dead bodies of their comrades, and the generals Berthier, Massena, Cervoni, Dalmagne, the chief of brigade Lasnes, and the chief of battalion, Dupat, placed themselves at the head of the column, and passed the bridge : the generals Rusca, Augereau, and Bayrand, with their divisions, had passed the Adda, at a ford, a few miles below Lodi, at the time the French began to force the bridge, and they attacked the Austrians suddenly in the rear, at the time when they thought the French were only on one side of the river, and this decided the wavering fortune of the day. The whole line of artillery was instantly carried, Beaulieu's order of battle bro-

ken, and the French troops spread terror and death in all directions: the hostile army was immediately dispersed, though the Austrian cavalry endeavoured to protect the retreat of the infantry, and with that intent charged the French. The imperialists lost 20 pieces of cannon, and between two and three thousand men, killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. The brave, but unfortunate Beaulieu, with the wreck of his army, took refuge under the cannon of Mantua, and abandoned Pizzighitone, Cremona, and the whole of the Milanese, to the French. Buonaparte, in his dispatches to the directory, after narrating this memorable battle, observes, That, although since the commencement of the campaign the French had been engaged in many warm contests (and it was, perhaps, necessary the army of the republic should sometimes suffer for its audacity) none approached the terrible passage of the bridge of Lodi: the French, after the engagement of Fombio, pursued the Austrians as far as Pizzighitone; they invested it on the 11th, and entered it on the 12th, after a brisk cannonade, and took about 400 prisoners. Cremona surrendered to the victors without resistance, and the vanguard of Buonaparte took the route to Milan, and entered it on the 15th, having received on their march the submission of Pavia, where they found almost all the magazines of the imperial army. From this moment the conquest of Lombardy may be regarded as complete; for, although the castle of Milan still held out, the tri-coloured flag floated from the extremity of the lake of Como, and the frontiers of the country of the Grisons, as far as the gates of Parma. Such rapid success, and so many engagements and victories, in so short a space of time, rendered some days of repose necessary to an army fatigued with constantly rapid marches and engagements. The Austrians had evacuated Milan soon after the news of the battle of Lodi; and, when the French prepared to enter the city, a deputation of the inhabitants carried to them the key of its gates. The court of the archduke immediately departed, and the archduke and duchess testified great sorrow at quitting their capital: the streets and squares, through which they passed, were crowded with people, who shewed no signs either of joy or sorrow, and a very few of the nobility attended the court in its flight. A day or two after, the people assembled in great crowds to witness the entry of

the French, and almost all put on the national cockade; the Imperial arms were taken down from most of the public buildings, and, at the ducal palaces a ludicrous advertisement was stuck up, in the following words, "A house to let, enquire for the keys at citizen Salicetti's, the French commissioner;" many of the nobility took the lace off their liveries, and the arms off their carriages. On the 14th of May, the tree of liberty was planted, with great ceremony, in the grand square; and about eleven o'clock, the same day, general Massena entered the city, at the head of his troops. A deputation from the city, preceded by the archbishop, went out to meet him; upon entering, he clapped the keys, which had been given him, one against the other, in token of rejoicing.

The entry of Buonaparte was extremely brilliant: the national guard, who were all on duty, lowered their arms to him, and the nobility and gentry of the city went out to meet him in their most splendid carriages, and returned in the procession, amidst the shouts of an immense populace: the cavalcade proceeded to the archducal palace, where he was to lodge, attended by several bands of musicians, playing patriotic marches and symphonies; and soon after his arrival, he sat down to a dinner of two hundred covers. The day was concluded by an elegant ball, where the ladies vied with each other in expressions of patriotism, by wearing the French national colours in every part of their attire. The day following Buonaparte received many visits from the citizens, and in the evening there was a concert of vocal and instrumental music at the theatre. The next day all the chests, containing the property of the archduke and the city, were emptied into the French coffers, and a splendid national fete was given the day after, with considerable enthusiasm, which finished in the evening with a general illumination; the whole was terminated by sending deputations into the different towns and villages, to instruct the people in the principles of liberty and equality.

Buonaparte issued a proclamation to the people of Lombardy on the 30th Floreal, or 21st of May, stating, "That the French republic, which had sworn hatred to kings, had sworn, at the same time, fraternity to the people, and respect for property, persons, and religion; that the French people, regarding the people of Lombardy as their brethren,

had a *right* to expect a just return, and he, therefore, should impose a contribution of 20,000,000 livres, which should be raised, in equal proportions, by the different districts of Lombardy : “ the necessities of the army,” says he, “ require it, and it is a slight sum for a country so fertile, considering, too, the advantages that must result from it.”

Twenty-one standards, monuments of the defeats of the Austrian and Piedmontese armies, had been already transmitted to Paris, and presented in its name to the executive directory. These trophies were received by them in a public sitting, amidst the acclamations of *Vive la Republique*, and the very day on which Buonaparte entered Milan the ambassadors of the king of Sardinia signed, at Paris, the definitive treaty of peace between that sovereign and France. The government, desirous of encouraging the ardour of the troops, by a public acknowledgment of their services, decreed the celebration of a *Fete des Victoires*, on the 29th of May, and it was observed at Paris in the following manner :

At ten in the morning a discharge of artillery announced the festival, which was to commence at noon in the *Champ de Mars*. In the centre of the field a statue of liberty was placed, decorated with various military trophies, having one hand resting on the constitutional act, and the other holding a baton, surmounted with the bonnet of William Tell. The platform, on which the statue was fixed, was elevated 12 feet on a diameter of 30 toises, and was approached by four steps, each 60 feet in length ; the circumference of the platform was ornamented with 14 trees, from which were suspended the trophies and standards of 14 armies, having their names inscribed on shields, placed at regular distances in front of the trees : the intervening spaces were filled with military ensigns, fastened together with garlands, in form of festoons. Behind the statue of liberty rose a large tree, from which were suspended, as trophies, the standards taken from the enemy, all united by garlands of flowers : in front of the statue an altar was erected, and on it were deposited crowns of oak and of laurel, which the executive directory, who occupied that station, were to distribute in the name of the gratitude of the country.

The constituted authorities took their stations on the

mount raised in the midst of the *Champ de Mars*; an immense crowd covered the extensive slope which runs round the field, while a cordon of the national guards of Paris enclosed the whole extent of the circle. Infantry and cavalry were ranged in order of battle in this inclosure, and a double line of troops extended from *L'Ecole Militaire*, to the steps of the mount facing them. A deputation of the constituted authorities proceeded to the military school, whither the directory had repaired, and soon after this the latter appeared, preceded by the ministers, the diplomatic body, the deputation of the constituted authorities, a vast number of military on horseback, and its own guard, the whole train marching in great state to the sound of military music. The directors were stationed in front of the statue of liberty, while the ministers and diplomatic corps took their places as had been previously concerted. The national guards on duty, divided into 14 bodies, representing the 14 armies, carried each a distinctive standard: to each of these corps were added a certain number of invalid veterans, or wounded soldiers, and care was taken to place them in the corps representing the army to which they originally belonged: these wounded soldiers, or veterans, conducted by officers, and accompanied with the colours of their respective armies, were to present themselves to the directory, who placed crowns on their standards. When all had taken their proper stations, the conservatory of music performed a military symphony by Louis Jadin; after which a profound silence was observed, when the secretary-general read the decree, fixing the celebration of the festival, and pointing out its motive.

From the period of which we are speaking Europe may be supposed to have entered upon a new era; the ancient political code was trampled under foot by the conqueror, and instead of that high sense of honour, which would in former periods, have raised every arm in its defence, and have determined every virtuous mind in Christendom to share the worst of deaths, in preference to the least disgrace: it now became the fashion for courts and cabinets to cringe beneath the French yoke, and to cast about for some apology for abandoning the law of nations. The weakness of the individual states of Italy, was supposed to be a sufficient excuse for the submission of the whole, and

the retention of a nominal sovereignty a sufficient compensation for the loss of honour : they thought that unconditional submission would divest the enemy of an hostile motive ; for it did not occur to those states, that the power which would retain its independence the longest, would be that which should defend itself with the most powerful resistance.

The duke of Modena became more alarmed as the French proceeded : he was, therefore, desirous of peace, and purchased an armistice of Buonaparte at a most excessive price : he agreed to pay to the French republic 7,500,000 livres, French money ; to furnish 2,500,000 livres in provisions, powder, and other military stores, for the French army ; and to deliver twenty paintings, taken from his gallery, or his dominions, to be selected by persons nominated by the French for that purpose.

Buonaparte had set out from Milan on the 24th, to repair to Lodi, leaving only at Milan the number of troops necessary for the blockade of the castle. Scarcely had he reached Lodi, when general Despinoy apprised him, that three hours after his departure the tocsin was sounded in Lombardy, and that it was industriously circulated, Nice had been taken by the English, the army of Conde had arrived by Switzerland, on the confines of the Milanese, and Beau-lieu, reinforced with 60,000 men, was on his march to Milan.—Every where, and by every possible means, the people were called on to arm against the French ; the nobles had dismissed their domestics, telling them, that equality did not permit the continuance of their services ; and all the partisans of the house of Austria, the Sbirri, and agents of the customs, appeared in the front. The inhabitants of Pavia, reinforced with five or six thousand peasants, invested the citadel, in which there were only 300 French.

At Milan the people destroyed the tree of liberty, tearing in pieces the tri-coloured cockade, and trampling it under foot. General Despinoy, the commander, mounted his horse, whilst some patrols put the populace to flight. The gate leading to Pavia was still in the possession of the rebels, who every moment expected the peasants, whom they meant to introduce into the city : to compel them to submission, a terrible charge was made, and the example of a

dreadful death restored tranquillity, but the city was given up to pillage for 24 hours.

The moment Buonaparte was informed of these proceedings, he hastened back with 300 horse, and a battalion of grenadiers. On his arrival at Milan, he ordered a great number of hostages to be arrested, and those persons to be shot who had been taken in arms, at the same time intimating to the archbishop, chapter, monks, and nobles, that they should be responsible for the public tranquillity. The municipality imposed a fine of three livres for every domestic discharged; and order being thus re-established at Milan, Buonaparte proceeded to Pavia.

Buonaparte now issued a proclamation, purporting, that the nobles, the priests, and the agents of Austria, had led astray the inhabitants of these delightful countries; that the French army, as generous as brave, would treat as brethren the peaceable natives, but that it would be terrible as the fire of heaven, to rebels, and to the villages that gave them protection. He therefore declared all those villages to be in a state of rebellion which had not complied with his order of the 25th; and directed the generals to march against them the forces necessary to suppress the insurgents, to set fire to them, and to shoot, upon the spot, all who were found with arms in their hands. All priests and nobles, in the rebellious communes, were to be arrested as hostages, and sent into France: all villages where the tocsin was sounded were to be instantly burnt; and the generals were made responsible for the execution of the order. The villages in whose territory a single Frenchman was assassinated, were to pay a triple contribution of the sum they annually paid to the archduke, until they should give up the assassin.—Every man found with a musket and ammunition, was to be immediately shot, by order of the general commanding the jurisdiction. Wherever concealed arms were found, the place was to be condemned to pay thrice its usual revenue by way of fine; and every house, where a musket was found, was to be burnt, unless the proprietor should declare to whom the arms belonged. All the nobles and rich persons who should be convicted of exciting the people to revolt, either by discharging their domestics, or by their discourses against the French, were to be arrest-

ed as hostages, and carried away to France, and a part of their revenues confiscated.

About this time, Buonaparte attended the theatre at Milan, at the representation of Metastasio's opera of Cato ; and the audience, as if desirous to regain the esteem of a man, whose austerity was equalled only by his power, applauded every passage which they chose to apply to him, and, after the piece, a crown of laurels was placed on his head.

Buonaparte removed his head-quarters to Verona on the 3d of June, where he left a strong garrison, in order to secure the three bridges across the Adige at that place. General Beaulieu, who had been so constantly unfortunate, was succeeded by marshal Wurmser, who had, indeed, not been much more fortunate, but who had effected more.

After the engagement at Borghetto, the passage of the Mincio, the taking of Peschiera, and the flight of the enemy into the Tyrol, the French invested Mantua, which required a formal siege, and the French had few means wherewith to undertake it. Intending to penetrate into the Tyrolese, Buonaparte addressed a manifesto on the 14th of June, to the warlike people of these lofty mountains. He informed them, that he was to cross their territory, in order to compel the court of Vienna to a peace, as necessary to Europe as to its own subjects. It was their own cause he was to defend, for they had been too long harassed by the horrors of a war, undertaken, not for the interest of Germany, but to gratify the passions of a single family.—The French army respected and loved all nations, and more especially the simple and virtuous inhabitants of the mountains. “Your religion and your usages,” said he, “shall be every where respected. Our troops will maintain a severe discipline, and nothing will be taken without being paid for in money. You will receive us with hospitality, and we will treat you with fraternity and friendship ; but if there are any so little acquainted with their real interests as to take up arms, and treat us as enemies, we will be terrible as the fire of heaven ; we will burn their houses, and devastate the villages which shall take part in a war that is foreign to them. Do not suffer yourselves to be led astray by the agents of Austria. Ensure your country, already harassed by five years of war, from the misfortunes which must afflict it. Ere long the court of Vienna, forced to

accede to peace, shall restore to the nations the privileges which it has usurped, and to Europe the tranquillity it has interrupted."

The division of general Augereau, having crossed the Po at Borgosorte on the 16th, arrived at Bologna on the 19th, where they found 400 of the pope's soldiers, who were made prisoners. Buonaparte left Tortona on the 17th and arrived on the 19th at Modena, from whence he sent orders, by adjutant-general Vignole, to the garrison of the citadel of Urbino, to open its gates, lay down their arms, and surrender prisoners of war ; after this he continued his route to Bologna, which he reached at midnight. The French took in Fort Urbino 50 pieces of cannon, in excellent condition, 500 muskets of calibre, and of a very fine model, and provisions for 600 men for two months.—Fort Urbino was in a good state of defence, encircled by a wall with covered bastions, and surrounded by ditches full of water, having a covered way newly repaired. It was commanded by a knight of Malta, with 300 men, who were taken prisoners. At Bologna, the cardinal legate was taken, with all the officers of the *etat-major*, and four standards. The cardinal legate of Ferrara, was also taken prisoner with the commandant of that fort, who was likewise a knight of Malta : in the castle of Ferrara, there were 114 pieces of cannon.

During these military operations, the 20 paintings, which were to be furnished by Parma, were on their way to Paris ; and among them the celebrated one of St. Jerome, which was in such high estimation that a million was offered to redeem it. The paintings from Modena were also on the road, and the citizen Barthelemy was employed in selecting about 50 of the paintings of Bologna, while the naturalists Monge, Bertholet, and Thouin, were engaged at Pavia and Bologna, in collecting plants and other objects of natural history.

At Milan, the celebrated astronomer, Oriani, paid a visit to the commander in chief, who had written him a letter by direction of the French government. This attention of Buonaparte conciliated the minds of the learned men of Italy, and attached to the revolution a class of men, who anticipated the loss of their stations, with which they believed this revolution menaced them. "The sciences," said

Buonaparte, in his letter to Oriani, "which ennoble the human mind, and the arts which embellish life, and transmit illustrious actions to posterity, should be peculiarly respected in free governments. All men of genius,—all those who have obtained a distinguished rank in the republic of letters, are Frenchmen, in whatever country they may have been born. The learned did not enjoy in Milan the consideration to which they are entitled; retired in the recess of their laboratories, they esteemed themselves happy, if kings and priests were kind enough to do them no harm. To-day it is not so; opinion is free in Italy:—the inquisition, intolerance, and despotism are no more. I invite the learned to assemble, and propose to me their sentiments on the means necessary to be taken, or the aid they may require, to give new life and existence to the sciences and fine arts. All those who may be desirous of going to France will be received with distinction by the government. The French nation sets a greater value on the acquisition of a learned mathematician, a painter of reputation, or any one who has distinguished himself, whatever may be his profession, than of the richest and most abundant city. Be you, then, citizen! the organ of these sentiments to all at Milan distinguished for their learning."

Buonaparte likewise wrote to the municipalities of Pavia and Milan, desiring that the celebrated university of Pavia might resume the course of its studies: he requested them to inform its learned professors, and numerous students, that the French general invited them to repair forthwith to Pavia, and propose to him the measures they might think proper to be taken, to give activity, and a more brilliant existence to that illustrious seminary.

On the 28th, Buonaparte set out to join the column already at the gates of Leghorn. An English frigate, on going out of the harbour, was fired at, but without effect: some hours before the French troops arrived, more than 40 English vessels, fully laden, left Leghorn. The general ordered the chevalier Spannochi, governor of the city for the grand duke, to be arrested: he was conducted to Florence by his own soldiers, and on his arrival there sent to prison by order of the grand duke.

Buonaparte informed the grand duke of these proceedings in the following letter:

*Head-quarters at Leghorn, 11th Messidor,
4th year (29th June, 1796.)*

“ROYAL HIGHNESS,

“An hour before we entered Leghorn, an English frigate carried off two French ships, valued at 500,000 livres. The governor, contrary to the intention of your royal highness, and the neutrality of the port of Leghorn, suffered them to be taken under the guns of his batteries. I prefer a complaint to your royal highness against this man, who in his whole conduct displays a decided hatred towards the French. He yesterday endeavoured, at the moment of our arrival, to incite the people to rise up against us, and there is no kind of ill treatment he did not make our advanced guard experience. I should, doubtless, have been justified in bringing him to a trial before a military commission, but, from respect to your royal highness, and intimately convinced of the spirit of justice which directs all your actions, I have preferred sending him to Florence, and am persuaded you will give orders to have him punished severely. I must, at the same time, return my thanks to your royal highness for your goodness, in appointing general Strasaldo to supply the army with every thing necessary; he has acquitted himself, respecting your royal highness' orders, with equal zeal and success. Accept, &c.

BUONAPARTE.”

To this letter the grand duke returned the following answer :

“GENERAL,

“General Spannochi, arrested by your order, has been brought hither. It is from a principle of delicacy, I keep him in a state of arrest until the motives for this step, which I presume to be just, are made known to me, in order to give you, as well as the French republic, and all Europe, the strongest proof of equity, conformably to the laws of my country, to which laws I have always made it my duty to submit. I send this letter by the marquis Manfredini, my major-domo, whom I request you to inform in what Spannochi has been culpable. You may, besides, repose full confidence in him respecting every object which interests the tranquillity of my subjects. I ardently desire to receive a letter written by yourself, which, in the present circumstances, may completely remove my uneasi-

ness, and at the same time assure the repose of all Tuscany. I am, with perfect esteem,

FERDINAND."

The French consul was ordered by Buonaparte to put seals on all the English magazines. A strong garrison, under the command of general Vaubois, was left in the city of Leghorn. Buonaparte, accompanied by Berthier, and a part of the *etat-major*, passed through Florence in his return, and was entertained by the grand duke very sumptuously. It has been already mentioned, that on the 28th general Buonaparte had directed the consul of the French republic at Leghorn to put seals on all the magazines belonging to the English: he was also ordered to take similar measures as to those appertaining to the emperor, the empress of Russia, and, in general, all the princes or subjects of states with whom the French were at war; and to employ every means necessary to discover the merchandise deposited in the houses of the different merchants at Leghorn, and take possession of them.

While Buonaparte was at dinner with the grand duke at Florence, a courier brought intelligence of the taking of the castle of Milan, with 2,800 prisoners, 150 pieces of cannon, 20,000 pounds of powder, and a great quantity of useful stores. If the young sovereign nominally saved his dominions, his sensibility must have suffered by entertaining, in his palace, a general, whose family had been numbered among his subjects, who had left a garrison in Leghorn, and who had destroyed all the commercial connections subsisting between his friends the English and the only port in his dominions. He had even been compelled to punish the governor of his principal town, for having, no doubt, been too obedient to his master, and detached from his brother, the emperor, his Italian dominions. The reduction of the castle of Milan, announced at the end of the entertainment, must have given additional chagrin to the grand duke. When the ex-conventionalist and commissioner, Salicetti, passed through Florence, two days after Buonaparte, he received an invitation from his royal highness, which he declined.

Buonaparte concluded an armistice, on the 23d of June, with the pope, on condition—That his holiness should send, as soon as possible, a plenipotentiary to Paris, to obtain from the executive directory a definitive peace, by offering the

necessary reparations for the outrages and losses suffered by the French in his territory. That the ports belonging to the pope should be shut against the vessels of the powers at war with the republic, and be open to French ships.—That the French army should continue in possession of the legations of Bologna and Ferrara.—That the citadel of Ancona should be put in possession of the French within five days, with its artillery and stores.—That the pope should give up to the French republic 100 paintings, busts, vases or statues, in the choice of commissaries, who should be sent to Rome ; among these articles, the bust, in bronze, of Junius Brutus, and that in marble, of Marcus Brutus, both placed in the capitol, should be particularly comprised ; and also 500 manuscripts, to be selected by the same commissaries.—And that the pope should pay to the French republic 21,000,000 of livres, French money, of which 15,500,000 livres should be in specie, or gold and silver ingots, and the remaining 5,500,000 livres in provisions, merchandise, horses, or oxen, as should be determined by the agents of the French republic.

Buonaparte, about this time, began to excite alarm among the friends of liberty in France : in his dispatches to the directory, he had of late, omitted the usual form of conclusion, "*Salut et respect.*"—"Salut" only appeared to the dispatches of Buonaparte, whilst the other generals closed theirs in the ordinary way. Rœderer, one of the principal journalists, expressed his apprehensions at the critical situation in which the republic was placed, by generals providing for their armies with the spoils of conquered countries, when the necessities of the state prevented them from receiving supplies from home, and he cited the examples of Sylla, Marius, and Cæsar, who conquered the liberties of their country by dispersing among their armies the treasures they had amassed.

The directory, who were themselves not exempt from jealousy at Buonaparte's successes, saw that he was too powerful for their control ; and, therefore, lest the language of the journals might have irritated his mind, they addressed to him a letter, which by the anxiety it expressed to efface any suspicion he might have entertained of their esteem, was well calculated to make known their fears, and their consciousness of their own weakness : it discussed, at

great length, the improbability of the journalists being any thing more than mere calumniators of his high reputation, which the directory declared they were desirous of strenuously defending. "You enjoy, citizen general," continues their letter, "the confidence of the directory, and the services, which you daily render, give you a title to it. The vast debt the republic owes to your victories, evinces that you are occupied solely with the glory and interests of your country: on this subject all good citizens are unanimous, and you will have no difficulty to abandon the vaunting and calumnies of others, to the contempt, which of themselves, they deserve, on account of the spirit that dictates them."

This letter of the directory was severely criticised by La Cretelle, another journalist, who denounced the directory for meanness, in defending Buonaparte against the attack of a newspaper, and condescending to flatter a victorious general, who had evidently excited their jealousy; he shewed also, with great force and justice, the cruelty of ingratitude on the one hand, and idolatry on the other, to successful generals. "The tribute of inconsiderate homage to these great men," says he, "may one day be the ruin of their country; let us, therefore, say little about those of whom posterity will say much—let us be reserved rather than ungrateful; the legions which exalted the glory of Rome, would not have been dangerous to her liberty if she had not intoxicated their generals by excessive adulation and praise." These remarks evidently caused a strong impression on the mind of Buonaparte; his answer to the directory, and his letter to general Clarke, on the death of his nephew, evince his chagrin

"CITIZEN DIRECTORS,

"I have received, with gratitude, the fresh proof of your esteem, which you have shewn me by your letter of the 18th Thermidor.

"I know not what these gentlemen want with me; they and the Austrians have attacked me both together, but you have silenced them by the publication of your letter, and I have done for the Austrians; thus, at one and the same time, these double attacks of my enemies have failed.

(Signed)

BUONAPARTE."

LETTER TO GENERAL CLARKE.

“ Your nephew, Elliot, was killed on the field of battle at Arcola : that young man was familiarised to arms, and has many times marched to victory at the head of his troops. He must, one day or other, have become a great officer : he died gloriously in the face of the enemy, and suffered not for a moment. What reasonable man will not envy him such a death ? Who is he, that, amidst the vicissitudes of life, will not be thankful thus to quit a world so frequently contemptible ? Who is he, among us, that has not regretted a hundred times, not to be thus withdrawn from the powerful effects of calumny, and of all the malevolent passions, which seem almost exclusively to govern the world ?

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.”

CHAPTER VIII.

THE victories of the army of Italy, served at once to persuade all mankind, that the French troops were invincible, and to inspire those troops themselves with an idea, that they were guided by a genius somewhat more than mortal ; yet are those conquests not to be ascribed so much to the mind, which was the immediate means of achieving, and the severity which secured them, as to the egotism and obstinacy, the want of combination and intelligence, in the cabinets of the allies. Not only were the successes of the French in Italy unforeseen and unprovided for, but their consequences were not calculated upon after they had been half accomplished. The combined powers had been dreaming during the armistice on the northern frontier, and their imaginations were so flushed with the ideal glories that they should acquire upon the banks of the Rhine, that they did not think it worth while to interrupt the career of the young general of the French in Italy, till they should find leisure to chace him for their amusement.

All the hopes of the campaign were centered in the archduke Charles, and all the former blunders of the war were this year to be repaired by the heroism and talents of this prince : it was known that the French had drawn considerable supplies from the armies of the North and of the Rhine,

to reinforce the army of Italy, but this was regarded as a favourable circumstance, which only tended to render victory more certain in the quarter where it was intended to seek it; and so few doubts were entertained of the speedy subjugation of France, that the combined powers only suffered the armistice to continue till the return of fine weather should enable them to take a pleasant march to Paris.

On the 23d of May, 1796, the Austrian commander in chief, informed general Jourdan, that the armistice was to terminate, and that hostilities would commence on the last day of that month. General Jourdan accordingly began his march with the army of the Sambre and Meuse, when general Marceau repulsed the advanced posts of the Austrians on the right bank of the Nahe, and the French general, Championet was equally successful in forcing their cantonment at Nidder Diebach. General Kleber, on the same day, marched towards the Sieg, and on the following day, first June, obtained a victory over the Austrians, who lost 2,400 men, including wounded and prisoners.

On the 15th of June marshal Wurmser was attacked by the French general Moreau; he was stationed between Frankendal and the Rehut, his front being protected by a canal, and his left wing by the Rebach. The French passed the fortifications, with the water up to their chins, in defiance of a tremendous fire of musketry and cannon: they engaged the Austrians with incredible impetuosity, became masters of their front works, and instantly constructed bridges for facilitating the passage of their cavalry; after which the Austrians were every where defeated, and, at length, obliged to take refuge under the cannon of Mannheim. The greater part of the Austrian forces having been marched towards the Lower Rhine, for the purpose of pursuing general Jourdan, orders were transmitted from the directory to general Moreau, to cross the river, which he accomplished on the 24th. The republicans carried all the entrenchments in the islands of the Rhine at the point of the bayonet, and with such astonishing rapidity, that the Austrians could not effect the destruction of the bridges by which they kept up a communication with their different divisions; and they all fell, of consequence, into the hands of the French. The conquest of Kehl was a still more arduous undertaking. After general Moreau had landed his first division, he im-

mediately sent back the boats by which they had been conveyed; thus, prevented from retreating, they fought with desperation. The first redoubt which the Austrians had erected on the plain for their defence, consisting of five mortars, and 300 men, was carried by the republicans, while the artillery they got possession of enabled them to assail the remaining entrenchments with some hope of success: they were taken in rapid succession; the Austrians were under the necessity of abandoning Kehl, and were pursued by the conquerors in their retreat towards Offenburg; the number of their killed and wounded was very great, and about 800 were taken prisoners; they also lost 16 pieces of cannon, together with 2,000 muskets. The French were now enabled to construct a bridge between Kehl and the islands of the Rhine, and thereby procure a passage for the rest of the army.

General Desaix received orders to engage the Austrians at Radstadt on the 4th of July, and hostilities commenced at Guersbach, the place which defended the left wing of the imperial army, on the 5th. To oblige them to abandon Radstadt, by turning their left, general Lecourbe attacked them between Olbach and the mountains, while general Decaen received orders to seize, if possible, on the bridge of Kuppenheim, and dislodge them from the mountains; and, after an obstinate conflict, which continued for the space of three hours, the republicans compelled them to abandon Kuppenheim. The left side of the river was still possessed by the Austrians, in the vicinity of Olbach, the passage of which was forced by the French infantry, who also attacked the wood of Nidderbichel; and, after a contest of three hours, they were completely successful, while another demi-brigade of infantry took possession of the woods near Ottersdorff. In this manner, both wings of the Austrian army being almost surrounded, were under the necessity of seeking shelter by repassing the Murg. On this occasion the French made 1,300 prisoners, but their own loss, in all probability, was more considerable, as the Austrians, from their position, could act with much greater advantage.

General Moreau gave orders to general St. Cyr, who commanded the centre, to turn the left wing of the Austrian army, and attack their posts at the source of the Elbe,

while Desaix was charged to engage the imperial forces between the mountains and the Rhine. General Taponier, with a small detachment, crossed the mountains, being instructed to pass the river Emms, with a view to turn the right wing of the enemy, by marching forward to Widdbad. The Austrians gallantly defended their position at Frauenalb and Herrenalb, repulsing the French four different times; but at the fifth assault, their corps of reserve was completely routed, with the loss of 1,100 taken prisoners, and an almost incalculable number of killed and wounded.

General Desaix commenced his operations with the left wing, by an attack on the village of Malsch, where he fought from nine in the morning till ten at night, when he took possession of the village, and made 500 prisoners. The imperial army was checked by the cavalry and light artillery under Suzanne and Delmas, stationed between Muchenturn and Ettlingen, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of prince Charles, who headed them in person.

The astonishing success of the republicans this day had a powerful influence upon the affairs of the combined powers, as it destroyed the whole plan of the campaign. The archduke designed to have engaged Moreau on the 10th; to effect which, the Saxons had received orders to approach the plain by the way of Baden (in the neighbourhood of Fort Louis) and the valley of Capel, six leagues to the rear of the republican army; but his late defeat rendered the execution of his plan impossible, although the hope of its final accomplishment had induced him to make a sacrifice of the whole territories on the Lower Rhine. General St. Cyr proceeded on the 10th to Nuenburg, and the Austrians abandoned Ettlingen, Durlach, and Carlsruhe, in the greatest hurry and confusion, and retreated to a position behind Pfortzheim.

The right wing of the republican army proceeded on the 12th to the plains of the Maine; and the left, after effecting the passage of the Nidda, took its station before Frankfort. The magistrates received a summons to surrender, which was strenuously opposed by the Austrian garrison. The French commenced a bombardment, when several parts of the city being suddenly in flames, the garrison agreed to surrender, and the republicans, on the ensuing morning, entered in triumph. Wartensleben has been censured for

his obstinacy in refusing to surrender, because it was absurd in him to reckon on the ditch by which it was surrounded, since the small extent of the city rendered it incapable of repelling a formidable enemy for any length of time. General Kleber had dispatched three engines, and 150 men, unarmed, to extinguish the flames; but they were not granted permission to enter the city, which shews the ill opinion the citizens of Frankfort had formed of the French.

While the archduke Charles retreated towards Pfortzheim, he was eagerly pursued by the republicans; and, upon receiving information that the French intended to cut off his communication with general Frolich and the prince of Conde, who were on their march to Stutgard, the archduke deemed it expedient to abandon his position on the 14th, and retire to Vahingen. Moreau stationed some troops at Bruchsal, to observe the motions of the enemy in Philippsburg and Mannheim, and to facilitate the procuring of supplies. General St. Cyr, after an obstinate conflict, succeeded in driving the Austrians from Stutgard. His next object was to oblige them to abandon their posts in the rear of that town: the attack commenced at four in the afternoon, being directed with uncommon severity against general Baillet, and prince John of Lichtenstein. The former of these officers defended himself most gallantly till the evening; when, as the republicans were enabled to occupy the ground on the right flank of the prince of Lichtenstein, the incessant fire of their musketry crossed in their ranks. Orders were accordingly dispatched to general Devay, then upon his march, to come forward with the utmost dispatch: he arrived at the moment when the troops under the command of the prince of Lichtenstein were in the most imminent danger of being totally destroyed, and succeeded in compelling the republicans to retire. The prince gallantly effected the passage of the Neckar on the 19th, and encamped his troops at Felbach, that he might thereby be enabled to keep up a communication with Ulm, without experiencing any important opposition.

The troops furnished by the circle of Suabia, abandoned their position at Sultz, upon the Neckar, and, taking shelter behind Hechingen, the combined forces of Conde and Frolich were obliged to fall back. General Desaix reached

Ludwigsberg on the 21st, and obliged the Austrians to evacuate the left bank of the Neckar, which the French, on the ensuing day, endeavoured to cross, but without effect. The archduke retreated slowly towards Nordlingen, and general Frolich proceeded to Biberach on the 9th of the preceding month, and disarmed the corps from Suabia, who had previously concluded an armistice with the republican general.

The rapid progress and numerous victories of the French, gave great uneasiness and terror to the court of Vienna, as every day was more calamitous than that which preceded it, and the very throne of Germany seemed tottering to its basis. The speedy destruction of his armies in Italy, and the alarming progress of Jourdan and Moreau, had made a very strong impression on the mind of the emperor, whose government now seemed to lie at the mercy of France; yet was that unfortunate prince doomed to witness still further disasters in the degradation of the princes of the empire, who now were under the necessity of making peace on any terms.

An armistice was concluded on the 19th of July between the duke of Wirtemberg, and general Moreau, on the part of the French republic; and a treaty of peace was concluded on the 6th of August between the duke and France, which received the approbation of the directory, and was ratified by the legislative body. By virtue of this treaty the republicans got possession of all his rights and revenues on the left side of the Rhine, and his serene highness engaged to banish from his territories all emigrants and exiled priests.

An armistice was also concluded between France, and the circle of Suabia, on the 27th of July, by which it agreed to furnish the republic with 12,000,000 of livres in two months and a half, 8,400 horses, 5,000 oxen, 100,000 quintals of wheat, 50,000 quintals of rye, 100,000 sacks of oats, a large quantity of hay, and 100,000 pair of shoes. The example of Suabia was followed by the marquis of Baden, who ceded to the republicans his possessions on the left bank of the Rhine, and paid a liberal contribution. A treaty of peace between him and France, was finally ratified at Paris on the 22d of August. The elector of Bavaria sent ambassadors to treat with general Moreau, while the diet of

Ratisbon gave a considerable degree of alarm, by resolving to lay before his imperial majesty its ardent wishes for a general pacification. The republic, however, did not grant an armistice to either of these states, without receiving very valuable considerations for the most trifling concessions. Money to reward the French soldiers for their successes, or to console them for their disasters, and provisions and clothing, were always stipulated for; and no neutrality, no truce, no peace, could be obtained by the weaker powers, without heavy contributions of this nature.

The long and arduous defence maintained by the garrison of Kehl had diverted the attention of the archduke Charles from the affairs of Italy, whence he had intended to follow Wurmser, with the design of stopping the career of the victorious Buonaparte, and the French government took advantage of the interval to increase the strength of their brave army. It was at this period that the want and wretchedness, of which the troops had had so much reason to complain, during the whole course of the war, seemed wholly to disappear, and it was from this time, that, quitting the simplicity and virtue of a republican leader, the seeds of ambition were sown in the breast of the great general.

The champion of the republic beheld himself at the head of a band of varnished slaves, and, under a conviction that they would harness themselves to the chariot of the first fortunate knave, that might possess art enough to make himself essential to their welfare,

“He dreamt of kingdoms, crowns, and regal state,
Till busy Fancy whisper’d—‘These are thine.’”

The stern language and proclamations of the republicans, were now softened by the arts and manners of the candidate for a crown, and henceforth the views and conduct of Buonaparte were directed entirely by his own interest. How auspicious the moment to cherish the nascent ambition of an ardent and aspiring mind! Placed at the head of armies, whose enthusiastic devotion would have induced them to follow him in the most desperate and romantic expeditions, whilst he was hailed by all the world as the victor over the greatest generals of the universe, who were at once obliged to acknowledge their admiration of his talents, and their submission to his arms, he must have been either

more or less than human who could have refused to appropriate to himself all the advantages that the state of things offered to him, for the mere sake of having his forbearance and virtue recorded by the very small number, who would have had sense enough to discern it.

The retreat of the armies from Germany, left Buonaparte without hope of any diversion in his favour in the Tyrol, which he had expected from Moreau ; but if he had nothing to hope from co-operation he had nothing to fear from a rival, and having completed his arrangements for the successful conclusion of the campaign in Italy, he prepared to frustrate the attempts that the Austrians were making for the preservation of Mantua ; and field marshal Wurmser, notwithstanding his continual misfortunes persevered with a constancy and courage, which procured him greater glory than has been gained by all the German generals, who preceded him in Italy.

Buonaparte, by his masterly arrangements, secured the influence of France in those states which he had conquered at the head of her armies. The victories of the general were immediately taken advantage of by the policy of the statesman, and successfully adapted to purposes, that no war minister, unless he were at the seat of war, could have either planned or executed.

Buonaparte, being informed that an Austrian corps was advancing, and had already encamped on the Piava, immediately detached general Massena, with a corps of observation, to Bassano, on the Brenta, with orders to retreat to Vicenza the instant the enemy should have passed the Piava. He also ordered general Vaubois to attack the Austrian posts in the Trentin, and above all, to drive them from their positions, between the Lavisio and the Brenta. The attack took place on the 2d of November, when the French encountered a very spirited resistance ; general Guieux carried St. Michael, and burnt the enemy's bridge ; but the Austrians rendered abortive the attack of the French on Segonzano, and the 85th demi-brigade suffered greatly. On the 3d Buonaparte ordered Segonzano to be attacked, as the possession of it was necessary ; and, at the same moment, being informed that the imperialists had passed the Piava, he pressed forward in person with Augereau's division ; and, having effected a junction with the division of

Massena at Vicenza, marched on the 5th, to meet the Austrians, who had passed the Brenta : it was necessary for the French to strike like a thunderbolt, and sweep the imperialists before them. The action was obstinate and bloody, but the advantage inclined to the side of the French, who remained in possession of the field of battle, while the Austrians repassed the Brenta : the republican army took one piece of cannon, 500 prisoners, and killed a great many ; the French general, Lanus, was wounded.

During these transactions the Austrians had attacked general Vaubois, and threatened to turn him in several points ; this obliged him to retreat to La Pietra, his right being supported by the mountains, and his left by Mori. On the 7th, a most obstinate action ensued, in which the French took two pieces of cannon, and 1,300 prisoners, but, on the approach of night, a panic seized part of the troops. On the 8th, this division occupied a position at Rivoli and La Corona, by means of a bridge which Buonaparte had ordered to be thrown over the river.

The general in chief departed on the 7th, and arrived, with some troops, at Verona on the day following at noon. On the 11th, he learned that the Austrians, after leaving Montebello, had encamped at Villa Nova ; the troops accordingly advanced from Verona, and fell in with their vanguard at St. Martin, who were routed and pursued by general Augereau, for three miles and a half. On the 12th, at day-break, the French found themselves in presence of the enemy : it was necessary to engage them instantly ; the attack was accordingly made with skill and gallantry, Massena's division assailing their left, and Augereau's their right ; the success of both was complete ; Augereau made himself master of the village of Caldero, and took 200 prisoners ; Massena seized on a height that flanked the imperialists, and took five pieces of cannon ; but the rain which fell in torrents, having changed suddenly into a kind of cold hail, driven by the wind into the faces of the French troops, was favourable to the enemy. The Austrians, being reinforced by a *corps de reserve*, which had no share in the action, succeeded in retaking the height ; and at night both armies retained their respective positions : these inferior engagements, and the necessity the division of Vaubois felt of abandoning successively all their posts in the Tyrol,

announced a more important and decisive struggle, which could not be long procrastinated, and a moment of indulgence might have lost the general all the advantages of his conquests.

Buonaparte having learned that the imperial army, under field marshal Alvinzi, approached Verona, for the purpose of forming a junction with the column of his army in the Tyrol, defiled along the Adige, with the divisions of Augereau and Massena, and, in the night of the 14th, threw a bridge of boats across at Ronco, where the French troops passed the river. The general was in hopes of arriving in the morning at Villa-Nova, and by that means taking the enemy's park of artillery and magazines, and attacking them in flank and rear : he had directed general Vaubois to watch with his division the point of Rivoli, and keep in check the column of the Austrian right under general Davidovich ; the castle and fort of Brescia, and the posts of Verona, Peschiera, and Porto-Legnago, were in a respectable state of defence. The head-quarters of general Alvinzi were at Caldero ; but, having got intelligence of the movements of the French, he had sent a regiment of Croats, and some Hungarian regiments, into the village of Arcola, a post extremely strong by its position, in the midst of marshes and canals.

Before day-break, the divisions of Massena and Augereau, had completed the passage of the Adige, and advanced on the two causeways that traverse an impracticable morass for several miles. The column of the left, commanded by Massena, first encountered and drove in the Austrian advanced posts, while the column under Augereau, after having, in like manner, compelled their posts to fall back, was stopped at the village of Arcola, now occupied by the imperial troops, who defended the sides of a dyke, along which it was necessary to pass. A canal, that flanked this dyke on the side of the village, hindered the French from turning it, and to get possession of it, they had to pass under the enemy's fire, and cross by a small bridge, upon which the imperialists kept up a terrible discharge from several of the adjacent houses, which they had fortified. The French troops made several efforts to carry the bridge ; but they were repulsed in reiterated attacks : it was in vain that their generals, feeling the importance of the moment,

precipitated themselves at the head of the columns, to induce them to pass the little bridge of Arcola ; this excess of courage proved only injurious to themselves ; for they were almost all wounded, and the generals Verdier, Bon, Verne, and Lasnes, carried out of the field. Augereau, laying hold of a standard, advanced to the extremity of the bridge, where he remained for several minutes, without producing any effect ; it was, however, absolutely necessary to pass this bridge, or take a circuitous route of several leagues, which would have made the whole operations miscarry. Buonaparte, apprised of the difficulties experienced by Augereau, ordered general Guieux to descend the Adige, with a corps of 2,000 men, and cross the river, under the protection of the light artillery, at a ferry two miles below Ronco, and opposite Albaredo : he was then to bear down on the village of Arcola and turn it ; but this march was long and the day far advanced ; it was, however, indispensable to carry Arcola, in order to get on the enemy's rear ; Buonaparte, therefore, hastened to the spot ; he asked the soldiers if they still were the conquerors of Lodi ; his presence produced an emotion of enthusiasm among the troops, which confirmed him in his determination to risk the passage : he leaped off his horse, and, seizing a standard, rushed forward at the head of the grenadiers towards the bridge, crying, *Follow your general !* The column moved forward a moment, and had reached within thirty paces of the bridge, when the terrible fire of the Austrians, made it recoil, at the very instant the enemy were on the point of flying. Generals Vignole and Lasnes were wounded, and Muiron, the general's aid-de-camp, was killed. Buonaparte himself was thrown from his horse into a marsh, from whence he extricated himself with difficulty under the enemy's fire ; he mounted again, and the column rallied ; but the imperialists did not advance from their entrenchments, to take advantage of the fortunate moment, as they ought to have done.

The French were obliged to renounce the design of forcing the village in front, and to wait the arrival of general Guieux, who, although he did not reach Arcola till night, succeeded in carrying the village, taking four pieces of cannon, and a great number of prisoners. The Austrian general persevered in his object, and Buonaparte thought it ex-

pedient to evacuate the village, on learning that the imperialists had removed all their baggage and magazines to Vicenza, in order to advance towards Ronco. At day-break, on the 16th, the Austrians attacked the French in every direction : the column of general Massena on the left defeated the enemy after an obstinate contest, and pursued them to the gates of Caldero, taking 1,500 prisoners, with six pieces of cannon, and four standards. Augereau's column, in like manner, repulsed the Austrians, but could not recover the village of Arcola, notwithstanding repeated attempts. A judgment may be formed of the firmness displayed on both sides, from the different attacks that happened at this village, where several generals were wounded. The same evening, Buonaparte, at the head of a column, carrying fascines, advanced to the canal on the right of the Adige, with a design to effect a passage, but found it impracticable from the rapidity of the current. With this column adjutant-general Vial afterwards traversed the canal with the water up to his neck, but was obliged to return without effecting a diversion of any consequence : in this expedition it was, that Elliot was killed.

In the night the French general ordered bridges to be thrown over the canals and marshes, and a new attack was planned for the day following : general Massena was to advance by the causeway on the left, while Augereau, for the third time, attacked the village ; and a third column was to cross the canal, in order to turn the village. Part of the garrison of Porto-Legnago, with 50 dragoons, and four pieces of artillery, received orders to make a diversion, by turning the enemy's left. Early in the morning the engagement commenced ; the imperialists, having vigorously attacked the centre, obliged it to fall back, on which Buonaparte drew the 32d from the left, and placed it in ambush in the woods : the moment the Austrians, in impelling back the centre, were on the point of turning the right of the French, general Gardanne, at the head of the 32d, sallied from his ambuscade, and, taking them in flank, made a dreadful carnage. The Austrians' left was supported by the marshes, and kept in check the French right by their superior numbers. Buonaparte ordered Hercules, the officer of his guides, to select 25 men of his company, and, advancing half a league along the Adige, turn all the marshes,

which supported the Austrian left, and fall afterwards at full gallop on the enemy's backs, at the same time making several trumpets sound. This manœuvre was completely successful: the Austrian infantry gave way, but, although retreating, still made resistance; when a small column of eight or nine hundred men, with four pieces of cannon, whom the general in chief had directed to defile through Porto-Legnago, in the rear of the imperialists, succeeded in putting them to the route. General Massena, who had returned to the centre, marched straight to the village of Arcola, which he took, and pursued the enemy nearly as far as the village of St. Bonifacio.

In this battle the French took between four and 5,000 prisoners, four stand of colours, 18 pieces of cannon, a great many waggons, several of which were loaded with pontoons, and an immense number of ladders, collected by the Austrian army, with a design to scale Verona: the imperialists lost at least 4,000 killed, and had as many wounded. On the part of the French, besides the generals already mentioned, generals Robert and Gardanne were wounded: adjutant-general Vaudclin and Buonaparte's aids-de-camp, Elliot and Muiron, were killed.

Meanwhile the left wing, under general Vaubois was attacked, and his important position at Rivoli forced; this uncovered the blockade of Mantua. The French army left Arcola at day-break: the cavalry were sent to Vicenza in pursuit of the imperialists, and Buonaparte repaired to Verona, where he had left general Kilmaine with 3,000 men; the division of Vaubois was reinforced, and posted at Castelnovo, while Augereau occupied Verona, and Massena the vicinity of Villa-Nova; preparations were made for chasing the enemy into the Tyrol, after which the army could wait in tranquillity for the reduction of Mantua.

From his head-quarters at Verona, Buonaparte wrote a letter to the director Carnot, in which he expressed his hope of being able, in ten days, to address him from the head-quarters at Mantua. "Never," said he, "was a field of battle so valorously disputed as that of Arcola; scarcely have I any generals left; their courage and devotion to their country were without example." The general of brigade, Lasnes, appeared in the field of battle, although the wound he had received at Governolo was not yet cured;

he was twice wounded on the first day of the engagement, and laid on a bed, in great agony, when, hearing that Buonaparte, in person, was at the head of the column, he threw himself out of bed, mounted his horse, and hastened to find the general. As he could not walk, he was obliged to remain on horseback ; but, at the head of the bridge of Arcola, he received a blow, that extended him senseless. “ I assure you,” concludes the general, “ that it required every effort to vanquish : the enemy, headed by their generals, were numerous and obstinate ; and several of the latter were killed.”

Never was an army placed in a more critical situation, than that of Buonaparte’s upon this occasion : the imperialists had made the greatest efforts, and had brought from the interior of the Austrian states, all that remained of their disposable forces ; these troops had posted to their place of destination with the utmost celerity, and by these means they had been enabled to form in Italy a new army, more considerable than the two already exterminated, before the succors sent from the interior of France to general Buonaparte, could form a junction with his army : it required nothing less than the genius of that intrepid warrior, and the zeal and constancy of all his brethren in arms, to triumph over the many obstacles which the cool courage and bravery of the Austrian armies opposed to his successes.

However considerable the loss sustained by Alvinzi may have been, his army was far from being destroyed :—driven back into the mountains, it became difficult to attack him, and Buonaparte could not forget, that Mantua, which Wurmser occupied with a strong garrison, still held out in his rear. The important point was to keep Alvinzi in check, and exclude him from the valley of the Adige, and all the passes by which he could communicate with Mantua. General Vaubois advanced to Rivoli, but the imperialists repulsed and drove him beyond Castel-Nova.—Buonaparte directed general Massena’s division to repass the Adige, and effect a junction at Villa-Franca with that of general Vaubois ; then, with united forces, to march to Castel-Nova on the 21st, whilst the division of general Augereau proceeded to the heights of St. Anne, in order to cut off the enemy’s retreat, by securing the valley of the Adige at Dolce. General Joubert, commanding the ad-

vanced guard of the united divisions of Massena and Vau-
bois, came up with the imperialists on the heights of Cam-
para, and after a slight contest, succeeded in surrounding
a corps of the enemy's rear guard, and taking 1,200 prison-
ers, among whom was the colonel of the regiment of Ber-
bach : a corps of three or four hundred Austrians were
drowned in the Adige in attempting to escape. The
French, not contented with having retaken the position of
Rivoli and La Corona, pursued the enemy to Preabocco ;
while Augereau engaged and dispersed an Austrian corps,
took 300 prisoners, burnt two boats of pontoons, upon the
Queta, and carried off a considerable quantity of baggage.

Having noticed the letter which the general wrote to gen-
eral Clarke, on the death of his nephew, Elliot, it is proper
to observe here, that he also wrote to console the widow
Muiron, that her husband had fallen at his side on the field
of Arcola. " You have," said he, " lost a spouse, who
was dear to you ; I have lost a friend, to whom I have been
long attached ; but our country has suffered more than us
both, by losing an officer so distinguished for his talents,
and his dauntless courage. If I can aid you, or your in-
fant, in any thing, I beseech you to reckon on my utmost
exertions." In a letter to the directory, the general men-
tions, that the citizen Muiron had served since the first
moments of the revolution in the corps of artillery, and had
particularly distinguished himself at the siege of Toulon,
where he was wounded, while entering the celebrated Eng-
lish redoubt, by an embrasure. His father was then in ar-
rest as a farmer-general : the young Muiron, covered with
the blood he had shed for his country, presented himself
before the national convention, and the revolutionary com-
mittee of his section, and obtained the liberation of his father.
On the 4th of October he commanded a division of artillery,
that defended the convention : he was deaf to the seduc-
tions of his acquaintances and friends. " I asked him," con-
tinues Buonaparte, " if the government might reckon on
him ;"—" Yes," replied he, " I have taken an oath to sup-
port the republic : I am part of the armed force, and will
obey my commanders ; I am moreover, from what I have
seen, hostile to all revolutionists, and equally so to those
who adopt their maxims and conduct with an intent to re-
establish a throne, or who wish to restore the cruel ad-

ministration, under which my father and my relations have suffered so long : he comported himself as a brave man, and was extremely useful on that day which saved liberty.— Since the commencement of the campaign in Italy, Muiron has rendered essential service in almost every action ; and, at last, fell gloriously in the field of Arcola, leaving a young widow in a state of pregnancy.”

CHAPTER IX.

THE campaign of 1796 produced two very important consequences, that promised to affect the general interests and peace of Europe : the first was, that the directory and people of France seemed to conclude, that their arms were not likely to succeed *beyond* the boundary of the Rhine ; the second was, that the allied powers seemed insensibly to abandon all idea of *reconquering* the states on the *French side* of the Rhine, which France had subdued and annexed to her own territory. The people of all the belligerent nations, panted most ardently for peace ; and the transmarine exploits of the campaign, were not such as were likely to throw any obstacle in the way of that desirable object. England was successful, in getting possession of several places belonging to her enemy in the East and West Indies, and in most of her naval actions ; but, except the island of Ceylon, all those achievements were of trifling value, and that value was considerably reduced, by the consideration of Spain now joining France in the war, which added the naval power of that country to the fleets of France and Holland. But it was not merely against the gigantic power of the French armaments that the allies were called to direct their exertions, there was a sort of political-moral power in every state that embarrassed its own government, and fought the battles of the republicans as successfully as their own armies. In England this inferior combat was sustained by the jacobins, republicans, and whigs ; who, though they despised and hated each other, all united to oppose the government, and their opposition was so violent during this campaign that the administration seemed driven to the necessity of making peace, if it were likely that

the French government would accede to any thing like reasonable terms.

On the 9th of January, 1797, the commander in chief arrived at Bologna with 2,000 men, in order to make an impression on the court of Rome, by the proximity of his situation, and induce it to adopt a pacific system : he also opened a negotiation with the grand duke of Tuscany, relative to the garrison of Leghorn ; and he thought his presence at Bologna would infallibly bring this affair to a conclusion. The 10th was spent in reviewing the troops, and making the necessary preparations : at night, the general learned that the enemy were in motion on all their line, and that the Austrian division, which was at Padua, had, on the 8th, attacked the advanced guard of general Augereau, at Bevilaque, in front of Porto-Legnago. Adjutant-general Dufaux, who commanded that advanced guard, after fighting the whole day, retired to Sanzeno, and on the morrow to Porto-Legnago ; but his spirited resistance gave him time to advertise the whole French line of the enemy's march.

Buonaparte ordered the moveable column, which he had assembled, to set out, by a forced march, to reinforce general Augereau's division, and oppose all the enemy's enterprises on the Lower Adige. He himself set out for the blockade of Mantua, and after giving all the necessary orders, proceeded from thence to Verona, where he arrived on the morning of the 12th, at the moment the imperialists attacked in force, the advanced guard of Massena's division, posted at St. Michael. The contest was obstinate, but at the end of two hours, the Austrians were completely repulsed, with the loss of three cannon, and 600 prisoners. On the same day, and at the same hour, the imperialists attacked the head of the French line, by Montebaldo, where they made themselves masters of a redoubt ; but Joubert, pushing forward at the head of his carabineers, retook the redoubt, drove the enemy before him, and having thrown them into disorder, made 300 prisoners. On the night of the 12th an Austrian column fought the whole night with the French grand guards, but were repulsed. All the reports, brought in on the morning of the 13th, announced a general movement of the enemy, of which the attack on the preceding day formed a part. The Austrians, who, to do

them justice had completely succeeded in concealing their movements, kept the French in an uncertainty, whether the main body of their forces was at Rivoli, or on the Lower Adige : Buonaparte therefore thought proper to continue at Verona, ready to march wherever circumstances might render his presence necessary.

On the 13th the Austrians threw a bridge across the river at Anguiari, a league distant from Porto-Legnago, by which bridge their advanced guard passed ; and, in the evening of the same day, Buonaparte learned that the post of La Corona had been attacked by forces so superior in number, that general Joubert was forced to evacuate it, in order to assume a position in front of Rivoli ; and that he had executed this movement in face of the enemy, with a steadiness which evinced the desire the troops felt to engage the imperialists in a place more favourable to the inferiority of their number. The general received intelligence, that the enemy had commenced a lively cannonade on the Adige, between Ronco and Porto-Legnago. The forces, ranged in front of general Joubert, no longer left any uncertainty as to the intentions of the Austrians : it was plain, that Alvinzi wished to penetrate by Rivoli with his principal forces, which exceeded more than double the number of those under the command of Joubert, and in this direction to reach Mantua. Buonaparte instantly formed his resolution ; and having given instructions on the Lower Adige and at Verona, put in motion a part of the division of general Massena ; he ordered the troops, under the command of general Rey, at Desanzano, to advance in different columns, to Rivoli ; and at eight o'clock in the evening, set out in person with all his etat-major for that place, which he reached at midnight. The dispositions of general Joubert were no longer necessary after the arrival of these reinforcements, and of general Buonaparte in person, who having assumed the command, directed Joubert to resume the important position in front of the *plateau* of Rivoli, and particularly the post of San Marco, that had been evacuated. This post was the key of the position of the *plateau*, the only point by which the enemy could advance their cavalry and artillery between the Adige and the lake of Garda.

The commander in chief, accompanied by the generals commanding the divisions and his etat-major, spent the

night in reconnoitring the ground, and the position of the imperialists, who occupied a formidable line, nearly 20,000 strong, having their right at Caprino, and their left behind San-Marco. Alvinzi had, several days before, formed his plan of attack for the 13th, when he hoped to surround general Joubert's division. This plan he now endeavoured to execute, without entertaining a suspicion of the arrival of the French general in person, or of the reinforcements Joubert had received at the moment the engagement began. The order given to retake the small posts in front of the *plateau* of Rivoli, occasioned, during the whole night, a fire of musketry between the advanced posts : but the recapture of the position of San Marco by the French, at five in the morning, produced a general battle, an event which began to give great uneasiness to Alvinzi, as it necessarily retarded, for some hours, his plan of attack.

General Joubert, at the head of a part of his column, attacked the imperialists along the line of the heights of San-Marco. The rest of his division occupied the centre of the line, the left of which was to be successively reinforced from the divisions of Massena and general Rey. The 18th demi-brigade received orders to advance by the left of the line of attack, and follow the directions of general Buonaparte, which were not to spread the troops, but only to extend their flanks. General Joubert having made considerable progress along the heights on the right bank of the Adige towards La Corona, the rest of the line likewise advanced, and obtained some successes: the centre occupied the heights that command the village of St. Martin. The 14th demi-brigade, under Berthier, in the centre, had directions to act according to circumstances. This reserve advanced, having previously detached a battalion to attack St. Martin the moment the left of the French line was losing ground ; this movement was the more dangerous, as the troops that followed the Austrians on the heights to the left had lost some advantages. Buonaparte proceeded, in person, to the left, but in the mean time, the 29th and 85th demi-brigades had fallen back : the battalion of the 14th, which had driven the imperialists from St. Martin, was repulsed, but kept the enemy in check by its spirited fire from the hedges surrounding the village. The height occupied by this demi-brigade, covered the only opening by which the right, un-

der general Joubert, could retire ; and the imperialists had collected all their forces to bear down on the centre. Buonaparte, feeling the importance of this post, and observing the critical situation in which the troops were placed, being completely turned on their left by a part of the enemy's right, hastened to the place, at the same time ordering the 32d demi-brigade, that had arrived from Verona, to advance immediately, under the command of general Massena ; they instantly forced the enemy to retire, and the posts formerly occupied by the 29th and 85th were recovered ; the right, which was on the elevated bank, had remarked the momentary disorder of the left, and had fallen back to the height in the centre, and defiled by the passage, covered by the height, occupied by the 14th demi-brigade. General Berthier had dispatched the 2d battalion to favour the retreat of the troops occupying the hedges of St. Martin, while he, with the 3d, occupied the height in the centre, and, surrounded by the enemy's centre, and a part of their right, maintained its position for several minutes, but the right of the republicans was driven to Rivoli in great disorder.

The battle had now lasted three hours : one of the Austrian columns, which had filed along the Adige, proceeded to the *plateau* of Rivoli, with an intent to carry it, and, in this direction, threatened to turn the right and centre. Buonaparte ordered general Leclerc to charge the imperialists, if they succeeded in carrying the *plateau*, while Lasalle, chief of squadron, was directed, with a detachment of dragoons, to take in flank the Austrian infantry, who attacked the French centre. At the same instant Joubert sent down some battalions from the heights of San-Marco, who precipitated themselves on the *plateau* ; and the imperialists, who had already penetrated to it, were driven into the valley of the Adige, leaving a great number of dead, and part of their artillery. Nearly at the same moment, the Austrian column, which had been some time on its march to turn the French, and cut off their retreat, formed in order of battle behind Rivoli, in the rear of the French, and covered all the heights between the Adige and the lake of Garda, so that the French line was completely turned, and all communication cut off with Verona and Peschiera : two battalions of the Austrians, confident of success, ex-

claimed, *We have them!* and, proceeding by the valley of the Adige, advanced with fury to carry the entrenchments of Rivoli, but were repulsed in three attacks : meanwhile, Buonaparte had planted four pieces of light artillery, that cannonaded the right of the Austrian line. The 18th, and some troops of the 75th demi-brigade, under generals Brune and Monnier, advanced, in three columns, and attacking the right wing of the Austrian line, that occupied an advantageous height in the rear of the French ; in an instant the whole Austrian column, consisting of 4,000 men, were taken prisoners.

In the night of the 15th Buonaparte hastened to St. Anthony, where he gave orders to attack the column of Provera on the 16th. This general finding that he could not make himself master of St. George by main force, and having received no intelligence of the main body of Alvinzi's army, could now only indulge a hope of being able to engage the French with advantage, when acting in combination with a powerful sally of the garrison of Mantua.—Buonaparte, therefore, laboured to prevent this junction, and to surround the column of Provera : general Dumas was posted, with a corps of observation at St. Anthony, in front of the citadel ; general Serrurier, with a column of 1,500 men, began his march an hour before day-break, and proceeded to La Favorite, whilst general Victor, with the 57th and 18th demi-brigades, turned general Provera.

The French, upon this occasion, took 6,000 infantry, 700 cavalry, 22 pieces of cannon, all the waggons and baggage, and the entire corps of the volunteers of Vienna. Four hundred of the garrison of Mantua were also taken ; the rest of the troops, who had sallied out of the fortress, having effected their retreat : after this the French again occupied their posts for carrying on the blockade.

General Alvinzi's army was now quite enfeebled : in the space of four days the republicans had fought two pitched battles, six inferior actions, and took nearly 25,000 prisoners, among whom were a lieutenant-general, two generals, and 12 or 15 colonels, with 20 standards, 60 pieces of cannon, with their waggons, and all the baggage of general Provera's column, besides killing or wounding about 6,000 men. General Rey was charged with conducting the prisoners to Grenoble by detachments of 3,000 men, at the dis-

tance of one day's march from each other, under the escort of the 58th demi-brigade, and a squadron of cavalry. All the troops performed wonders. "The Roman legions," said Buonaparte in his dispatches, "are reported to have marched twenty-four miles a day : our brigades, though fighting at intervals, marched thirty."

On the 18th of February, 1797, the executive directory received the new trophies of the army of Italy ; and, on their repairing to the hall of public audience, the standards taken in the late engagements, were introduced amidst reiterated acclamations of *Vive la Republique !* These ensigns were preceded by the minister of war, accompanied by the chief of squadron, Bessieres, who was entrusted by the general in chief with the charge of presenting them to the directory. The minister, after observing in his address, that the army of Italy, always victorious, still continued to present new monuments of its glory, informed the directory, that they now beheld the trophies of its last successes,—the standards of Alvinzi, and of the captive Provera.—“At this moment, said he, 30,000 of these Austrians, who had flattered themselves with compelling us to repass the Alps, climb those Alps themselves ; but they climb them—vanquished, disarmed, and prisoners !”

On the 28th, whilst a corps of military musicians performed the favourite airs of the French, a discharge of artillery announced the arrival of the 60 standards taken at Mantua, and of general Augereau, charged with presenting them to the directory. He entered amidst universal acclamations and reiterated cries of *Vive la Republique !* and was preceded by 60 veteran warriors, each, with republican pride, bearing an Austrian standard. On his arrival at the Estrade, the general was presented to the directory by the minister of war, who observed in his address, that,

“At the moment when so many kings combined against France, and when the inexperience of her troops, and the puissance of her foes, were exaggerated, it was far from being foreseen, that the genius of the republic, sweeping the imperial eagle before her, would spread her wings from Holland to the banks of the Tiber ; *but it belonged to a people who had recovered their own liberty, to revive it in those places which were formerly its cradle.* Our first campaigns were rendered remarkable by that sudden explosion,

which, precipitating on the frontiers a million of soldiers, opposed enthusiasm and courage to experience. The present campaign exhibited a spectacle of a different aspect ; the genius of a hero struggling against the knowledge of old and experienced warriors ; French valour, bounding over mountains, rivers, and every difficulty which nature and art could oppose, and in the midst of so many battles, and the intoxication of so many victories, still retaining its character of *mildness and generosity*. Our warriors, in their triumphal march, shew themselves *the deliverers of the people*, and not the destroyers of the governments ; the protectors of religion, and the friends of the arts, whose native country they have conquered. "To me," concluded the minister, "it gives exquisite satisfaction to present to the directory, at the same moment, the monuments of the conquest of Italy, and the brave Augereau, who, in a moment of peril, imitating the example of Buonaparte, grasped a standard, and, darting forward in front of our battalions, decided the victory."

An ardent mind, subject to so little control as that of Buonaparte, could not long want opportunities of indulging its ambition. The papal states could now be invaded without any apprehensions being entertained from a too extensive dispersion of the republican troops ; and an intercepted letter, or a letter said to have been intercepted, in its way from the pope's secretary to the nuncio at Vienna, afforded a pretence for breaking the armistice that had been concluded.

Buonaparte had previously addressed the following letter :

TO CARDINAL MATTHEI.

"The court of Rome has refused to accept the conditions of peace which the directory offers ; she has broken the truce—she arms—she wishes for war, and she shall have it ; and you know, Cardinal, the strength and valour of the army which I command. To destroy the temporal power of the pope, I need but to wish it. Go to Rome, therefore, and enlighten his holiness as to his true interest—deliver him from the intriguers, who besiege him. The French government permits me to receive propositions of peace, and all may yet be settled. I wish you, M. Cardinal, in your mission, all the success which the purity of your intentions deserve.

22d Oct. 1796.

BUONAPARTE."

To this letter, Cardinal Matthei returned an indiscreet answer, of which the ensuing is an abstract :

TO M. GENERAL BUONAPARTE.

“ I have laid before his holiness the letter which you took the trouble to write to me, M. general.—The sovereign pontiff hath always endeavoured to maintain peace, for this purpose he has submitted to many sacrifices. When France, thrown into confusion by the unfortunate events which have afflicted her for these seven years past, wrung his heart with grief, he remembered that he was the common father of all christian nations ; and when he saw his children of the church led astray by the most dangerous seductions, he thought that gentleness was the only remedy which he could employ, hoping that it would please God to cure them of their blindness, and bring them back to just and reasonable maxims. The success of your army in Italy has so far misled your government, that, by the most intolerable abuse of prosperity, not content with having *shorn* the lamb to the quick, they wished to *eat* it also, and even required of the pope to make a sacrifice of his conscience, and that of the people committed to his care, in exacting the overthrow and total destruction of those fundamental points which are the basis of the christian religion, of morality, and church discipline. His holiness, after having in vain solicited the directory to listen to more reasonable conditions, the court of Rome, must prepare for war : it belongs to the rest of Europe to decide who has been the aggressor. Your army is formidable, but you know that it is not invincible : we will oppose to it all our resources, our constancy, our confidence in a good cause, and above all, the aid of the Almighty. You say you desire peace ; we wish it more than you : grant it upon moderate conditions, and such as our allies can subscribe to, and you will find us ready to yield. On his part, his holiness will make any sacrifice to obtain it, which may not be inconsistent with his duty : we venture to believe, M. general, that, for yourself, you incline to the principles of justice and humanity, and I shall at all times be happy to co-operate with you in the great affair of pacification.

MATTHEI.”

Rome, Dec. 2, 1796.

On the 5th of January, 1797, Buonaparte recalled the French minister from Rome, and wrote the following letter

TO CARDINAL MATTHEI.

“ The influence of foreigners at Rome will be its ruin : the words of peace which I charged you to carry to his holiness, were stifled by men to whom the glory of Rome is nothing. You are witness how much I desired to avoid the horrors of war ; but the letter which I send you, and of which I have the originals, will convince you of the perfidy, blindness, and obstinacy, of the court of Rome. Whatever may happen, I entreat you to assure his holiness, that he may remain at Rome without any inquietude : as the first minister of religion, he shall find protection for himself and the church. My great care shall be to introduce no change in the religion which is established.

BUONAPARTE.”

General Victor was now ordered to march to Rome, an expedition which he commenced, by immediately taking Imola ; and then Faenza, Forli, Cezena, Ravenna, &c. with as little difficulty. The papal troops broke down the bridges, and attempted to fortify themselves upon the Lenis ; but instead of relying upon their own courage, their hopes were grounded upon the blessings of St. Peter and St. Paul. Victor was not disposed to be charmed into submission ; and, therefore, he drove the infatuated wretches forward, “ like chaff before the wind.” A general panic spread itself throughout the ecclesiastical state ; persons of all ranks endeavoured to escape, with their property, into Naples, and the pope dispatched four plenipotentiaries with a letter to Buonaparte, praying for peace.

This letter, with its answer, will serve to shew, that, if our hero knew how to flatter, when it would serve his turn, he himself was not altogether insensible to the shafts of flattery.

POPE PIUS VI.

“ *Dear son, health and apostolic benediction !*

“ Desiring to terminate amicably our differences with the French republic, by the retreat of the troops, which you command, we send and depute to you, as our plenipotentiaries, two ecclesiastics, the Cardinal Mattei, who is perfectly known to you, and M. Galeppi ; and two seculars, the duke Louis Braschi, our nephew, and the marquis Camillo Massinio, who are invested with our full powers to concert, promise, and subscribe, such conditions, as we

hope will be just and reasonable, obliging ourselves, under our faith and word, to approve and ratify them in a special form, in order that they may be valid and inviolable in all future time. Assured of the sentiments of good-will which you have manifested, we have abstained from removing any thing from Rome, by which you will be persuaded of the entire confidence which we repose in you. We conclude, by assuring you of our most perfect esteem, and presenting you with the paternal apostolic benediction.

PIUS, P. P. VI.

“Given at St. Peter, in Rome, the 12th February, 1797, the 22d year of our pontificate.”

BUONAPARTE, *general in chief of the army of Italy, to his holiness the pope.*

“Head-quarters at Tolentino, 1 Ventose, 5th year.

“MOST HOLY FATHER!

“I ought to thank your holiness for the obliging things contained in the letter, which you have taken the trouble to write to me.

“The peace between the French republic and your holiness is just signed: I felicitate myself on being able to contribute to your personal safety.

“I entreat your holiness to guard against the persons now at Rome, who are sold to the courts, the enemies of peace, or who suffer themselves to be guided, exclusively, by the passion of hatred, which the loss of territory engenders.

“Europe knows the pacific inclinations, and the virtue of your holiness. The French republic will be one of the truest friends of Rome.

“I send my aid-de-camp, chief of brigade, to express to your holiness, the perfect esteem and veneration which I have for your person, and to entreat you to confide in the desire which I have to give you, on every occasion, the respect and veneration, with which I have the honour to be,

Your most obedient servant, BUONAPARTE.”

This treaty of peace between the republic and the pope was ratified by the latter, and confirmed by the French government: it provided that there should be peace, amity, and good intelligence, between the republic, and his holiness, and that the latter revoked all adhesion, consent, or

accession by writing or secret promise, given by him to the coalition armed against the republic, and to every treaty of alliance, offensive or defensive, entered into with any power or state whatever: it was stipulated, that ships of war, or corsairs of the powers armed against the republic, should not enter, during the present war, into the ports or roads of the ecclesiastical state. The republic should continue to enjoy, as before the war, all the rights and prerogatives, which France had at Rome. The pope renounced, purely and simply, all rights he could claim to the towns and territory of Avignon, the Comtat-Venaissin, and its dependencies, and transferred to the republic, all his rights to the territories, known by the names of the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna; he engaged to pay and deliver, at Foligno, to the treasurers of the French army, before the 5th of March, the sum of 15,000,000 of livres turnois, 10,000,000 of which to be paid in specie, and five in diamonds, and other precious articles, out of the sum of about 16,000,000, still remaining due on the 9th article of the armistice, signed at Bologna on the 21st of June last, and to furnish to the army 800 cavalry horses, with their harnessing, 800 draft horses, besides oxen, buffaloes, and other produce of the territory of the church. Independently of those sums, the pope, by the 12th article of this treaty, engaged to pay to the republic in money, diamonds, or other valuables, the sum of 15,000,000 livres turnois, 10,000,000 of which in the course of the month of March, and 5,000,000 in that of April following. The 8th article of the treaty of armistice, concerning the manuscripts and objects of the arts, was to receive complete execution with all possible promptitude: it was agreed, that the French army should evacuate Umbria, Perugia, Camerino, and the whole of the territory which this treaty had left to the pope, as soon as the articles relating to the payments should be executed and accomplished. His holiness consented to disavow, by his minister at Paris, the assassination of Basseville, secretary of legation, and to pay, at the disposal of the French government, the sum of 300,000 livres, to be divided among those who suffered by that deed: he also engaged to set at liberty all those in a state of detention on account of their political opinions. The general in chief was to permit such of his holiness

troops as were prisoners of war, to return home, immediately on the ratification of the treaty; and it was agreed, that, those sundry other articles of minor consideration, were, without exception, to be obligatory for ever on his holiness and his successors.

Buonaparte seems to have been already so much of a sovereign, as to have understood the supreme *art of meddling*, or as some persons would say, *of legislating*, or, as might, perhaps, more properly be said, *of interfering*, where his interference was not asked. The little republic of Santa Marino had afforded the general no pretence to quarrel with it; yet it did not escape his notice, but he chose to attack it, by a shower of favours, instead of the power of his arms. Under colour of removing any uneasiness that this free state might suffer from the contiguity of the French army, he sent a deputy to its government, with an offer of his protection. Citizen Monge was introduced to the two captain regents of that republic, and informed them of the object of his mission, in a speech of the following purport:

“Liberty,” said he, “which in the fair days of Athens, and of Thebes, transformed the Greeks into a people of heroes,—which in the time of the republic, made the Romans perform wonders,—which, during the short interval it diffused its influence over some of the cities of Italy, revived the sciences and the arts, and gave a lustre to Florence; liberty, while nearly banished from Europe, existed in St. Marino; where, by the wisdom of the government, and especially by their virtues, the people have preserved this precious deposit, notwithstanding so many revolutions, and defended its asylum during so long a series of years. After a century of knowledge, the French people, blushing at their own slavery, have made an effort, and are free. All Europe, blinded as to their proper interests, coalesced and armed against the French republic; and, what afflicted her most, a portion of herself kindled civil war, and compelled her to have recourse to measures, of which she must feel the unfortunate consequences. Alone, in the midst of this tempest, without experience, arms, or chiefs, she hastened to the frontiers, and, making head in every direction, was soon every where triumphant. Of her numerous enemies, the wisest withdrew from the coalition; others, yielding to her victorious arms, obtained

successively the peace they implored. In fine, three only now remained, but they were impassioned, and listened to no counsel, except that of pride, jealousy, and hatred. One of the French armies, on entering Italy, had destroyed, in succession, four Austrian armies, bringing in its train liberty to these delightful countries, and, almost under the eyes of the men he addressed, covering itself with immortal glory. The French republic, *afflicted on account of the blood she sheds*, offers peace, when she might dictate laws ! Here the orator paused, as if he thought this pompous display of irresistible power, would not have sufficient weight without a pointed interrogatory. “ Would you believe it, citizens,” continued he, “ every where her propositions have been rejected with haughtiness, or eluded with cunning ? The army of Italy, thus constrained to conquer peace, is obliged, in pursuit of one of its enemies, to pass in the vicinity of your territory. I come, on the part of general Buonaparte, and in the name of the French republic, to assure the ancient republic of St. Marino, of peace and inviolable friendship. Citizen regents ! the political constitution of the surrounding nations, may experience changes : *if any portion of your frontiers was disputed*, or *if any part of the neighbouring states, although not contested*, be absolutely necessary to you, I am charged by the general in chief, to request you to make it known to him. The French republic *is eager* to give you proofs of the *sincerity of her friendship*, and I felicitate myself on being the organ of a mission, the object of which must be acceptable to the two republics, and which procures to me the opportunity of testifying to you the veneration you inspire in all the friends of liberty.”

This free republic had maintained its liberty ever since its first foundation in the 5th century. The numbers of its inhabitants did not exceed 5,000, but the smallness of its revenue was compensated by the simplicity of its government, and its power had been sufficient to preserve its existence, without the aid of allies. By virtue and independence, this “ feeble folk,” had overcome all the intrigues and all the authority, which cardinal Alberoni had excited against them ; and there was, at the present time, no power that had either the means or the inclination to interrupt their tranquillity ; the solicitude of the *great gen-*

eral, therefore, could only be traced to that all-corrupting principle, by which the bestowers of favours, and the givers of charity, are generally influenced, when, under the mask of kindness and benevolence, they treacherously rob the weak of that independence, which open violence would be wholly unable to obtain.

The adventurous candidate for a diadem and an empire knew perfectly well, that whoever can be prevailed upon to accept of grace, has no longer occasion for his own virtue, and that whosoever can be brought to rely upon another will soon be rendered incapable of serving himself : it was in this point of view, that it appeared to the regents ; but the very proposition had a corrupting tendency, for it was not possible, that such a diminutive state could speak its real sentiments, surrounded, as it was, by large armies : it was obliged to temporise, and to endeavour, by flattering the great man, to prevail upon him to keep his kindness to himself, and let them alone.

In answer to the citizen Monge, the representatives of the republic of St. Marino stated, that they still regarded as a dream the moment in which they had seen him arrive, clothed with the character of deputy ; it was the first time, that, distinguished from the crowd of vile slaves, they had received an honour, which his great nation alone could bestow. They presented him the answer of the council-general, to the invaluable letter he had brought, and observed, that if he himself had been present at its reception, he would have witnessed the satisfaction it produced. “ Deign,” said they, “ to be the interpreter of our gratitude, and the sentiments of regard we entertain for the general in chief, and the great nation he represents. Intercede, also, for the favours we have to ask of him, one of which is indispensable to our existence. The issue of this affair must be fortunate, if you support our request with your credit : may this be the commencement of relations we desire to maintain with you, and be persuaded that our esteem for you equals our gratitude.”

The answer of the republic assured Monge, that they would insert, in the number of the epochs, the most glorious in the calender of their liberty, the day of his mission to their republic. *France knew not only how to vanquish her enemies by force of arms, but also to astonish her friends*

by her generosity. Happy, in being able to reckon themselves among the models, which excited the noble emulation of Frenchmen, and more happy still in being found worthy of their friendship, of which he had given them so eminent a proof, they could not view, without the most lively interest, the arms of the French republic restoring in Italy the fair days of the Greek and Roman republics. Love of their own freedom made them feel the value of the magnanimous efforts of a great nation, that wished to recover its liberty. The French envoy knew, that simplicity of manners, and the innate sentiment of their liberty, were the sole inheritance transmitted them by their fathers : this inheritance they had preserved inviolate in the midst of the political shocks occasioned by the revolution of many ages, and neither ambition nor hatred had been able to destroy it. "Return, therefore," continued they, "to the hero who sent you : bear to him the free homage, not only of that admiration which we participate, in common with the universe, but also of our gratitude. *Tell him, that the republic of St. Marino, content with her mediocrity, is afraid to accept the generous offer he has made of aggrandizing her territory, the consequence of which might compromise her liberty.* As to yourself, illustrious envoy ! we esteem ourselves so much the more happy at this moment in having you amongst us, as you unite the talents of the scholar with the civic virtues. The object of your mission, the manner you fulfil it, and the name of him who has sent you, will prove a lasting monument of the magnanimity of the conquerors of Italy, and ever revive in our breasts those sentiments of gratitude we at present experience."

This incident in the general's history is far from trifling, as it tends to develope his character at a time when it was little understood. Notwithstanding the wisdom and firmness with which these independent people had refused his offers, on his return from Tolentino, Buonaparte presented their state with four pieces of cannon, in the name of the French republic, and directed a supply of corn, of which the inhabitants wished to make a purchase, to be delivered to them *gratuitously*.

Upon the first of these presents, it is very natural to remark, that the general had upwards of 1,000 cannon that he had no kind of occasion for, and that the state of Santa

Marino had existed more than a thousand years without feeling the want of them : it was an empty gift of the same stamp, as the trafficking donations of some rich men, who bestow charity, not for the purpose of conferring benefits, but of gaining applause ; it was worthless to him who gave it, and useless to those who received it. Not so the other part of the conqueror's generosity. A supply of corn was a real and substantial good, which the people had an immediate occasion for, but their wish was *to buy* it, and they could better afford to have paid for it, than the people whom he had pillaged could afford to part with it without money. Why then would the general sacrifice his justice to his generosity, unless his views were like the old court of Egypt, which invited the sons of Jacob to enjoy the treasure of their granaries, and when it had brought them into its debt, held them for bondmen and bondwomen, and refused to let them call any thing their own ? Buonaparte would, however, be generous ; yet the people of Marino ate his "*dainties with reluctance, for they regarded them as deceitful meat.*"

The general gained much eclat about this time, from the literary world, by the means that he took to compliment the egotism, and flatter the vanity of learned men : the village of Pietola, is the ancient spot of Andes, where Virgil was born, and the surrounding fields were formerly part of the liberalities of Augustus : they had probably suffered as much during the blockade and siege of Mantua as in the wars of the triumvirate ; but, happily for their inhabitants, the conqueror of Italy was no less desirous of fame than Augustus : Virgil was in his recollection ; and Buonaparte gave orders that the ancient patrimony of the Mantuan bard, the prince of Latin poets, should be particularly distinguished, and that its inhabitants should be indemnified for all the losses they had sustained by the war.

CHAPTER X.

WHILST our hero was thus taking advantage of circumstances to the advancement of his fortune, the other branches of his family seem to have been equally diligent. His brothers, Joseph and Lucien, availed themselves of the

credit that his successes attached to their name, and, with very little either of talents or property contrived to obtain seats in the legislative body. Louis, his third brother, received an appointment as lieutenant-colonel in the army of Italy; and Jerome, though a mere schoolboy, we have already seen presented to the chief magistrates and people of France. It was, perhaps, not virtue, but policy that induced the general to appropriate a part of his immense riches towards raising his mother and sisters also from the mediocrity of their former station; yet, as it would have been sordid and vicious to have acted otherwise, he is at least entitled to the negative merit of not having neglected a duty in this instance: nor should it be forgotten, that he owes much of his success to the wise and judicious arrangements of Madame Buonaparte, who kept his mind wholly freed from domestic or family disappointments.

The war continued in Italy, with little intermission, during the winter. The total annihilation of Alvinzi's army rendering it necessary to form another, for the purpose of covering the hereditary states, the court of Vienna thought proper to give the command of this new army to the archduke. His late good fortune on the Rhine, and the attachment of the Austrian soldiery to his royal highness, excited the most sanguine expectations of success:—but his laurels withered in presence of the formidable warrior he had to encounter. The inclemency of the weather, and the fatigue the troops had undergone, suspended farther operations on the Rhine; preparations were made for opening the campaign with decisive effect, and these were hastened, in order to second the invasion of Germany, which Buonaparte meditated from the northern frontier of Italy. The army of the Sambre and Meuse was reinforced, and entrusted to the command of general Hoche, while Moreau retained that of the army of the Rhine and the Moselle. No sooner had Hoche assumed his command, than he displayed the characteristic firmness of his mind, by an act of justice and wholesome severity: he cashiered a great number of officers, and dismissed, or arrested, about 100 commissaries, for extortion, and dilapidations of various kinds. In Italy the greatest efforts were made to furnish the archduke with a puissant army, and hostilities had commenced before Buonaparte made peace with the pope. The division

of the Tyrol had engaged the imperialists on the 5th of February, and driven them from a post between Savero and Besotto; and on the 6th, general Murat had carried the post of Derunbano, on the right of the Adige.

Some few other skirmishes between the hostile armies were a prelude to more serious contests. General Guieux retook the post of Treviso on the 22d of February, and general Walther, who commanded the advanced guard, having encountered the imperialists in front of Lovadina, drove them back, and pursued them to their entrenchments on the Piava. On the 23d general Murat made himself master of the enemy's entrenchments at Foy, and afterwards fell in with a corps of Tyrolese chasseurs, 60 of whom he killed. General Beliard, commanding the right of general Joubert's division, was attacked at Bidola, but he completely defeated the Austrian corps. On the 2d of March, agreeable to the orders and instructions of the commander in chief to general Joubert, to attack the enemy the moment they should attempt to establish themselves on the left bank of the Lavis, general Beliard, attacked an Austrian detachment posted at Monte-di-Savaro, while general Murat carried their advanced posts, and took about 100 prisoners.

Since the battle of Rivoli the army of Italy occupied the banks of the Piava and the Lavisio, while the imperial army, under prince Charles, occupied the opposite bank of the Piava, having its centre posted behind the Cordevole, and its right supported by the Adige, on the side of Salurn. On the morning of the 10th, the division of general Massena proceeded to Feltri; and the Austrians, on his approach, evacuated the line of Cordevole, and marched to Bellurn. General Serrurier's division advanced to Asolo on the 12th; at day-break, it crossed the Piava, opposite the village of Vidor, and having worsted an Austrian corps that attempted to oppose its passage, advanced rapidly to St. Salvador; but the enemy, having received intelligence of the passage of the river, and afraid of being surrounded, evacuated their camp of La Campana. General Guieux passed the Piava at Ospodaletto, and arrived in the evening at Conegliano. The French cavalry, in the course of the day, encountered several times that of the enemy, and had always the advantage. General Guieux, having arrived with his division at Sacile, on the 13th, fell on their rear guard, and took 100

prisoners. Meanwhile, general Massena's division, having reached Bellum, pursued the imperialists, who had retreated towards Cadore, and surrounding their rear guard, took 700 prisoners, among whom were 100 hussars, a colonel, and general Lusignan, who commanded the centre of the army, which general having disgraced himself by his conduct towards the French sick at Brescia, Buonaparte gave orders to conduct him to France, without the liberty of being exchanged.

Early in the morning of the 16th, Guieux's division set out from Pordenone, that of Bernadotte left Sacile, and that of Serrurier proceeded from Pasiano, all directing their march to Valvasone. General Guieux's division passed beyond Valvasone, and arrived on the banks of the Tagliamento at eleven o'clock of the day. The Austrian army was entrenched on the opposite side of the river, the passage of which, it seemed determined to dispute. Bernadotte's division having arrived at noon, Buonaparte immediately gave orders to general Guieux to proceed to the left, in order to cross the river on the right of the enemy's entrenchments, under the protection of 12 peices of artillery, general Bernadotte being directed to cross it at the same time on the right. Both divisions, having formed their battalions of grenadiers, ranged themselves in order of battle, each with a demi-brigade of light infantry in their front, supported by two battalions of grenadiers, and flanked by the cavalry, the light infantry manœuvring as riflemen. General Dammartin on the left, and general Lespinnasse on the right, made their artillery advance, when a brisk cannonade commenced ; upon which Buonaparte gave orders for every demi-brigade to file off in close column on the wings of their 2d, 1st, and 3d, battalions. General Duphot, at the head of the 27th light infantry, threw himself into the river, and presently gained the opposite bank, being supported by general Bon, with the grenadiers of Guieux's division. General Murat made the same movement on the right, and was in like manner supported by the grenadiers of Bernadotte's division. The whole line put itself in motion, each demi-brigade *en echelons*, with squadrons of cavalry placed at intervals in the rear. The imperial cavalry attempted several times to charge the French infantry, but without success : the river was crossed, and

the enemy routed in every direction. As they attempted to outline the right of the French with their cavalry, and the left with their infantry, general Dugus, and adjutant-general Kellerman were detached, at the head of the cavalry of reserve, supported by a body of infantry, under adjutant-general Mireur ; and having worsted the Austrian cavalry, took prisoner the general who commanded them. General Guieux ordered the village of Gradisca to be attacked, and made himself master of it, after having completely defeated the enemy, and very nearly captured prince Charles. General Serrurier's division, as it arrived, passed the river, and ranged in order of battle, to serve as a corps of reserve. In this affair, the French took six pieces of cannon, one general, several superior officers, and four or five hundred prisoners. The quickness with which they formed and manœuvred, and the superiority of their artillery, so intimidated the hostile army, that it could not be brought to make a stand, and only strove to save itself by flight.

The foresight of the directory had seconded every measure calculated to render certain the success of Buonaparte, and procure a glorious peace to the republic. Entire divisions had been drawn from the armies on the Rhine, and sent to Italy : proceeding from the banks of this river, they traversed part of the republic, and surmounted, in the most rigorous season, the barrier of the Alps, till then, deemed impervious, but of which general Kellerman, by dint of labour and vigilance, and struggling against climate, the elements, and the seasons, had succeeded in maintaining the free passage. This march, the longest and the most difficult ever effected on the continent by an armed corps, during the winter season, without experiencing any delay, and without being suspected, or, perhaps, believed by the enemy, enabled them to contend in Carinthia, with the men they had so often defeated on the other side of the Rhine. These reinforcements having formed a junction with the army of Italy, Buonaparte, who was supposed to be still before Rome, crossed the Trajamento, and shewed his troops, from the summit of the Noric Alps, (a barrier which no modern nation had hitherto passed,) the basins of the Adriatic, and of the Danube, in the midst of which last, Vienna seemed to point out to them the termination, or the object of their exploits. Scarcely had the campaign com-

menced, and scarcely, in climates more favourable, would they have thought of opening it, when Buonaparte already menaced the heart of the states of Austria: nature was still dormant in these black regions, now become the theatre of war, when the mountains of the Tyrol, and of Carinthia, were scaled. Prince Charles was compelled to a continued and precipitate retreat, very different from that which had immortalized general Moreau, who led back his army, pursued indeed, but always victorious, from the banks of the Danube to the borders of the Rhine.

On the 18th, the division of general Bernadotte defiled by Palma-nova, and took a position on the Torre: the division of general Serrurier also took a post on the right, and that of general Guieux on the left, the citizen Lasalle being dispatched with the 24th regiment of chasseurs to Udina. The imperialists, on the approach of the French, evacuated Palma-nova, where the latter captured, 30,000 rations of bread, and a million of quintals of flour: it was only ten days since prince Charles had seized on this place, which belonged to the Venetians: his intention was to occupy it as a military post, but he had not time to establish himself there. General Massena, proceeding by St. Daniel, Asopa, and Gemona, pushed his advanced guard into the defiles. On the 19th, general Bernadotte blockaded Gradisca, while general Serrurier advanced opposite San-Pietro, for the purpose of passing the Lisonzo, on the other side of which the imperialists had several pieces of cannon, and some battalions, for defending the passage. Buonaparte ordered various manœuvres to be made, with an intent to alarm the enemy, after which the passage was effected without opposition.

General Serrurier proceeded to Gradisca, filing along the highest peaks that command the town. To make a diversion, and prevent the imperialists from discovering this manœuvre, general Bernadotte made the riflemen attack their entrenchments; but the French soldiers, impelled by their natural ardour, advanced with fixed bayonets to the walls of Gradisca, where they were received by a very heavy discharge of musquetry and grape-shot. General Serrurier in the mean time having gained the heights commanding Gradisca, rendered every means of retreat impossible to the garrison, who were equally convinced of the impracticabil-

ity of defence. General Bernadotte summoned the Austrian commandant to surrender in ten minutes, threatening, in case of refusal, to put the garrison to the sword. He observed in his letter, that the governor had defended the town like a brave man, and acquired the esteem of all military men by his conduct : but any further obstinacy would be criminal and dangerous, and the principles of philanthropy, which ought to animate a soldier, imposed on him the obligation of sparing the unnecessary effusion of blood ; and concluded, with informing him, that the scaling ladders were prepared, and the grenadiers and chasseurs demanding loudly the assault. The governor agreed to a capitulation, by which it was stipulated, that, in a quarter of an hour after signing it, the garrison should march out by the gate Mucama with all the honours of war, the officers retaining their swords, and liberty granted them of returning home, on condition of not serving until exchanged. Three thousand prisoners, the flower of the army of prince Charles, ten pieces of cannon, and eight standards were the fruits of this operation.

The division of general Massena, having carried the fort of La Chuisa, encountered a body of the imperialists, who attempted to dispute the passage of the bridge of Cassasola. His light troops drove back those of the enemy, and, a moment afterwards, the grenadiers of the 32d and 75th demi-brigades, in close column, forced the bridge, and, having beaten the imperialists, notwithstanding their entrenchments and chevaux-de-frise, pursued them as far as Ponteba, taking prisoners 600 men of the regiments lately brought from the Rhine. All the magazines, which the Austrians had on this side of the river, fell into the hands of the French.

The capture of Gradisca procured advantages, of which the French general hastened to profit, and he addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants of the province of Goritz, with an intent to prepare their minds for the expedition he meditated across their territory.

On the 21st of March the French entered Goritz, the Austrian army having retreated with so much precipitation, that they abandoned four hospitals, containing 1,500 sick, and all their magazines of provisions and military stores, which were accordingly taken possession of by the French.

In these magazines were 680 casks of flour, each weighing three quintals, making in all 2,040 quintals, besides what was furnished to the division of Bernadotte. On the same day, this division reached Camiza ; its advanced guard, and the Austrian rear guard encountered at Caminia, on which occasion the 19th regiment of chasseurs, charged the enemy with impetuosity, and took prisoners 50 hussars, with their horses. General Massena, on his side, pursued the enemy to Ponteba.

General Guieux, with his division, proceeded, on the 22d, from Cividale to Caporetto, where he fell in with the imperialists, entrenched at Pufiero, took two pieces of cannon, and 100 prisoners, pursuing the rest into the defiles of Caporetto, as far as the Austrian La Chinse, leaving the field of battle covered with their dead. Meantime, general Massena approached Tarvis with his division ; Buonaparte had, therefore, reason to hope, that the 2,000 men, whom general Guieux had pushed before him, would fall into the hands of the division of Massena. The general of division, Dugua, entered Trieste on the night of the 23d. The French likewise took possession of the celebrated mines of Ydria ; where they found substance prepared for 2,000,000, and carried it off in waggons.

We have already mentioned, that a column of the army of prince Charles, was hemmed in between the division of general Massena, who was at Tarvis, and that of general Guieux, who, on arriving at Caporetto, pushed this column before him into the defiles. General Massena, on his arrival at Tarvis, was attacked by an Austrian division from Clagenfurth, which had come to the assistance of the division that was surrounded ; but, after a conflict extremely obstinate, he put them to the rout, taking a vast number of prisoners, among whom were three generals : the emperor's cuirassiers, who had arrived from the Rhine, suffered most severely. Meanwhile, general Guieux drove the column, which he had defeated at Pusero, as far as Austrian La Chinse, a post extremely well entrenched, but which was carried by assault, after a very obstinate engagement. General Kables, in person, defended La Chinse with 500 grenadiers. By the laws of war, these 500 men ought to have been put to the sword, but this barbarous right has always been disclaimed, and never exercised by the French army. The

hostile column, on finding La Chinse taken, hastened its march, and fell into the middle of the division of general Massena, who after a slight engagement, made the whole of them prisoners : 30 pieces of cannon, 400 waggons, carrying the baggage of the enemy, 5,000 men, and four generals, fell into the hands of the French.

The division of Massena had crossed the Italian Alps, and now occupied the defiles of the Noric Alps. The imperialists had been so imprudent as to entangle in the Noric Alps all their baggage, and part of their army, which were of course taken. The battle at Tarvis was fought above the clouds, on a height which commands an extensive view of Germany and Dalmatia : in several places to which the French line extended, the snow lay three feet deep ; and the cavalry, charging on the ice, suffered many accidents.

Such a continuity of brilliant successes entitled the army to every distinguishing mark of approbation that the government could possibly bestow : accordingly the directory wrote particular letters of thanks to each of the generals, in which they pointed out the especial service which his division had rendered to its country ; the army answered these eulogies by meriting new ones. General Buonaparte sent to Paris 24 standards, 12 of which were taken from the troops of the emperor, in the late actions, and 12 from the forces of the pope : and the adjutant-general Kellerman, who had received an honourable wound in a charge of cavalry, at the passage of the Tagliamento, was appointed to carry them. General Serrurier, shortly afterwards followed him with 21 Austrian and Venetian standards.

The French column dispatched by Buonaparte, to compel the submission of the Tyrol, and afterwards join him on the Drave, fulfilled their mission, and traversed, as conquerors, a country, which Austria had always regarded as one of the strongest bulwarks of her empire. The divisions of generals Joubert, Baraguey d'Hilliers, and Delmas, put themselves in motion on the 20th, and surrounded an Austrian corps stationed on the Lavis. After a most obstinate engagement, the French took 4,000 prisoners, three pieces of cannon, and two standards, and killed nearly 2,000 men, the greater part of whom were Tyrolean chasseurs.

Meanwhile the enemy had fallen back along the right bank of the Adige, and manifested a disposition to maintain

themselves in this situation. Upon the 22d, general Joubert, with the three divisions under his command, proceeded to Salurn. General Vial made himself master of the bridge of Neumark, and passed the river to prevent the enemy from retreating to Botzen. The firing commenced with great warmth, and the general of division, Dumas, who commanded the cavalry, pushed into the village of Tramin, taking 600 prisoners, with two pieces of cannon. In consequence of this, the wrecks of the Austrian column, under general Laudon, were prevented from reaching Botzen, and obliged to wander in the mountains : Joubert entered the town of Botzen, and, having detached a sufficient force to follow general Laudon, marched directly to Claufen. The imperialists, availing themselves of the means of defence which the country afforded, had made the best dispositions : the attack was warm and well concerted, and the issue long uncertain. The light infantry clambered up inaccessible rocks ; the 11th and 33d demi-brigades of infantry of the line in close column, commanded by general Joubert, in person, surmounted every obstacle ; the centre of the imperialists was penetrated, and obliged to give way, after which the rout became general : in this action, the French took 1,500 prisoners. General Joubert arrived at Brixen, still in pursuit of the Austrians ; while general Dumas, at the head of the cavalry, killed several of their dragoons with his own hand, and received two slight cuts of a sabre, his aid-de-camp being at the same time dangerously wounded. This general, say the French, for several minutes, “ *singly checked the progress of a squadron of the enemy’s horse, upon a bridge they attempted to pass, and gave time to his troops to rejoin him !*” At Brixen, Botzen, and different other places, the French found magazines of every kind, and among other articles, 30,000 quintals of flour : through the whole of the Tyrol, Carinthia, and Carniola, the imperialists left behind them their hospitals.

On penetrating into Carinthia, Buonaparte published a proclamation to the inhabitants of the province, purporting that the French army did not enter their country for the purpose of conquering it, or to effect any change in their religion, manners, or customs : they were the friends of all nations, and particularly of the brave people of Germany. The directory had sent general Clarke to Vienna, as plen-

potentiary, to commence negotiations for peace ; but the imperial court had refused to hearken to them, and had declared that it did not acknowledge the French republic. General Clarke demanded a passport to go and speak to the emperor himself ; but his ministers dreaded that the moderation of the propositions, which the general was charged to make, would influence his majesty to conclude a peace. " Thus these ministers," continued the general, " corrupted by English gold, betrayed Germany and their prince, and acknowledged no other will, than that of the perfidious islanders." He knew, he said, " that the inhabitants of Carinthia, detested as much as the French nation, both the English, who were the only gainers by the war, and the Austrian minister, who was sold to them." He invited them not to join in a contest, repugnant to their sentiments, and to furnish what provisions the French army might require ; declaring that, on his part, he would protect their religion, customs, and property, and not exact any contribution. The imposts, which the inhabitants had been accustomed to pay to the emperor, would indemnify them for the inevitable losses attending the march of the French army, and for what provisions they might furnish.

On the 28th three divisions of the army had cleared the passages leading from the Venetian territory into Germany, and encamped at Villach, on the banks of the Drave. General Massena, on the 29th, put himself in motion with his division, and fell in with the imperial army, at the distance of a league from Clagenfurth, when an engagement ensued, in which the Austrians lost two pieces of cannon, and 200 prisoners. The same evening the French entered Clagenfurth, the capital of Higher and Lower Carinthia, while prince Charles, and the wrecks of his army, extremely disheartened, were flying before them. On the 1st of April the French advanced guard, were between St. Veit Freisach, and the division of general Bernadotte reached Laubach, the capital of Carniola. Buonaparte sent the Polish general, Zajouzeck, at the head of a body of cavalry, to follow the valley of the Drave, and, after gaining Lienz, effect his junction with general Joubert, at Brixen.

Since the commencement of this campaign, prince Charles had lost nearly 20,000 men taken prisoners, and was now entirely driven from the Venetian territories ; from

the Higher and Lower Carniola, Carinthia, the district of Trieste, and the whole of the Tyrolese. Near Villach, the French found a magazine of cast iron, cartridges, and powder, and mines of lead, steel, iron, and copper ; and, near Clagenfurth, they found manufactories of arms and cloth.

General Joubert on the 28th of March, attacked the defile of Inspruck : the battalions, newly arrived from the Rhine, attempted to defend it ; but after a short cannonade, Joubert decided the affair, by advancing at the head of the 85th demi-brigade, in close column by battalion ; when the imperialists were driven back, leaving 100 killed, 600 prisoners, two pieces of cannon, and all their baggage.

On the 1st of April the division of general Massena, forming an advanced guard, encountered the imperialists in the defiles between Freisach and Neumark : their rear guard was driven from all the positions it endeavoured to dispute, and pursued by the French with so much rapidity, that the archduke was obliged to bring back from his principal line of battle, eight battalions of grenadiers, the same who had taken Kehl, and who now formed the hope of the Austrian army. The 2d light infantry who had particularly distinguished themselves since their arrival by their courage, without relaxing their movement a single instant, threw themselves on the flanks both of right and left, while general Massena, in order to penetrate the defile, formed in column the grenadiers of the 8th and 32d. The combat was between the flower of the Austrian army and the veteran troops of the army of Italy, and was one of the most furious that had happened during the war. The imperialists occupied a grand position, crowded with cannon : but it only protracted for a short time the defeat of their rear guard : their grenadiers were completely routed, leaving the field of battle covered with their dead, and from five to six hundred prisoners. The Austrians defiled during the night, and at day-break the French entered Neumark, their head-quarters being advanced the same day to Freisach. At this place they found 4,000 quintals of flour, and a great quantity of brandy and oats ; they found about the same quantity of stores at Neumark.

On the 3d the head-quarters were removed to Scheifling, while the vanguard encountered the rear guard of the imperialists in the vicinity of Hundsmark, where the latter

wished to quarter for the night : the 2d light infantry still formed the advanced guard of the French ; and, after an hour's fighting, the Austrian rear guard, composed of four regiments from the Rhine, was again put to the rout, leaving 600 prisoners, and 300 dead on the field of battle ; this advanced guard, that evening, ate the bread, and drank the brandy prepared for the Austrian army : the loss of the French in these two engagements was very trifling ; the only officer killed, was the chief of brigade, Carrere, a soldier of steady valour, and indefatigable activity. After this, the French occupied Kintenzfeld, Murau, and Judenburg ; the imperialists appearing decided on a precipitate retreat, and resolving not to hazard any more partial actions. Buonaparte ordered the division of general Guieux to pursue that of the Austrian general Spork, who endeavoured to effect a junction by the valley of the Muhr, and whose advanced guard had already arrived at Murau : but the prompt arrival of the French at Schiefeling, had rendered this junction impossible. From this time, the Austrians could make no stand, except in the mountains in the neighbourhood of Vienna.

In this city the consternation was, at this time, extreme, and the most violent orders succeeded each other, with a rapidity tending to increase the alarm. Many hastened to withdraw themselves from the horrors of a siege by leaving the town ; and although a numerous class appeared ready to rally round the monarch, and unite for the defence of the country, he could not be much encouraged by an attachment, which had cost so dearly to all those noble volunteers of Vienna, who had faced the army of Italy, only to meet with death, or surrender prisoners. In vain had prince Charles appeared at the head of the imperial armies : he had been, perhaps, still more unfortunate, than the generals his predecessors ; and every effect expected from the influence of his talents, or the illusion of his dignity, had deceived their ultimate hopes.

During these transactions Buonaparte transferred his head-quarters to Judenburg, and prepared for decisive measures, but on the 7th, lieutenant-general the count de Bellegrade, and major-general Morvelde wrote him a letter, in which they stated, that his imperial majesty had nothing more at heart than to concur in re-establishing the repose of

Europe, and terminating a war that desolated the two nations. In consequence of the overture made by the French general to prince Charles, the emperor had now deputed them to learn the general's proposals on a subject of such great importance. Agreeably to their conferences with him, and persuaded of the earnest desire, as well as the intentions, of the two powers to terminate as soon as possible, this disastrous war, his royal highness desired a suspension of arms for ten days, in order to facilitate the attainment of so desirable an object.

Early in the month of April, and previous to the conclusion of the armistice with Austria, the campaign on the Rhine had been commenced, general Hoche intimated to general Werneck, who commanded on the Lahn, that the verbal armistice between the advanced posts, was to cease, and hostilities to commence on the 16th ; at the same time, a similar notice was given by general Moreau to the Austrian commander on the Upper Rhine. Accordingly a division of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, crossed the river at Bonn on the 17th, whilst the troops, cantoned between Düsseldorf and the Sieg, made preparations for advancing.— On the morning of the 18th general Hoche, in person, passed the Rhine at Neuwied, with the right wing, a corps of the centre, and a division, commanded by general Watrin. Two days previous to this, the imperial general had requested a continuation of the armistice, but the French commander was obliged to follow his instructions, and commence the campaign. General Kray, who commanded the left wing of the Austrian army, proceeding on the idea that a convention had been agreed on in Carinthia, now requested permission to send an officer, vested with powers, to conclude an armistice. As a preliminary condition, Hoche demanded the evacuation of the Lahn, and the cession of Ehrenbreitstein ; but the imperial general being of opinion that the relative situation of the two armies did not authorise the acceptance of these conditions, the conference was terminated.

The Austrian left, stationed in this point, occupied an excellent position in front of the bridge of Neuwied, having its right supported by the village of Hotterdorf and its left resting on Bendorf. The number and arrangements of the redoubts, and strength of the entrenchments, presented

a very formidable aspect, and did honour to the veteran abilities of general Kray. About eight in the morning, the imperialists began the action with a lively cannonade, but the French troops advancing to the attack, the infantry, seconded by the fire of the light artillery, carried the village and whole line of redoubts, with fixed bayonets. A few charges of cavalry now decided the battle, and the imperialists, being thrown into total disorder, were obliged to retreat, abandoning all the cannon of their batteries, several field pieces and ammunition waggons, besides the major part of their baggage, three or four standards, and 4,000 prisoners.

General Lefebvre, with the advanced guard and first division, pushed forward to Montabaur, while Grenier, with the centre, advanced to Dierdorf, and Championnet dislodged the Austrians from Ukareth and Altenkirchen. Meantime general Werneck, in consequence of Kray's defeat, was forced to retire with his whole army, and take a position on the Lahn. General Ney marched rapidly with a party of horse to Dierdorf, where he fell in with the reserve of the imperial army, and engaged them for four hours, when the main of Grenier's column advancing, the imperialists were driven from their position, and obliged to retreat with precipitation, having lost 500 infantry taken prisoners, and 500 cavalry, taken, wounded, or killed. On the 19th, Lefebvre crossed the Lahn at Limburg, with an intent to proceed to Francfort; and generals Ney and Soult, with the advanced guard, having overtaken the Austrian rear guard in the defile of the Dille, in their retreat to Wetzlar, drove them from this post, with the loss of 300 men.

The Austrian army fell back with such celerity that the French infantry were unable to keep pace with them. The cavalry of the advanced guard attacked the post of Giesen, and, after a short contest, the imperialists retired to that of Steinberg, which they also abandoned in the night-time. On the 22d general Waltrin's division carried the Austrian camp, near Mentz, and drove them under the cannon of the fortress, taking upwards of 800 prisoners. General Lefebvre having crossed the Nidda with his division, compelled a select corps of imperial cavalry, that occupied the opposite bank, to retire, and was on the point of entering Francfort, when he received information from the Austrian

general, that the preliminaries of peace were signed by prince Charles and Buonaparte : he, therefore, consented to suspend the action, until the return of an officer, whom he instantly dispatched to general Hoche, who, at the same moment, received a letter from general Berthier, intimating the terms of the convention. After strengthening their posts, the two commanders in chief agreed to a line of demarkation for the armies, behind which they waited for the ulterior orders of their respective governments.

The cabinet of Vienna had drawn a reinforcement of 20 or 30,000 men from the Rhine, and sent them to the Italian frontier. This necessarily weakened their Suabian line, and facilitated the operations of general Moreau, who again effected the passage of the river by a *coup de main*. In the night of the 19th a considerable body of troops crossed over to the right bank in boats, and after a most obstinate struggle, succeeded in re-establishing the bridges, by means of which the rest of the army passed the river, and immediately commenced offensive operations. Several warm engagements occurred in the course of the day, but, at last, the imperialists were completely defeated, and pursued to Offenbourg ; and, in the evening, the republican flag waved in triumph on the bastions of that Kehl, which a French garrison had, the year preceding, defended against the whole Austrian army. The Austrians lost several standards, upwards of 20 pieces of cannon, all their camp equipage, the military chest, the bureau of the staff of the army, and three or four thousand prisoners, including the general of their artillery, and a great number of superior officers. The French generals Duhem, Desaix, Jordis, Dement, and Regnier, were wounded ; and, from the steady resistance made by the imperialists, the loss of the republican army was very considerable.

Happily for the countries threatened with becoming the theatre of war, the suspension of arms, now concluded between Austria and France, saved them from a repetition of the calamities they had sustained in the preceding campaign, and promised to restore the repose of the continent. Buonaparte had dispatched a courier with the intelligence, who reached general Moreau's head-quarters in the night of the 21st, and from thence hastened along the French line to Friedburg, the head-quarters of general Hoche. Arrange-

ments, similar to those on the Lahn, were concerted by the generals on the Upper Rhine. a line of demarkation was agreed on, and a friendly intercourse established between the two nations.

CHAPTER XI.

IF the military efforts of France were crowned with the most unparalleled success upon the continent, nothing had ever equalled the misfortunes that befel her naval exertions upon the ocean, and even in port, the ships of that nation were not always safe ; for such was the incredible temerity of the English sailors, that they frequently attacked and cut out vessels from under the batteries. Upon only one occasion did the French gain even a partial triumph in a similar attempt: that part of the coast of Devonshire, which is situated at the mouth of the British channel, was, on the 22d of February, thrown into consternation by the appearance of three frigates, which entered the small harbour of Ilfracombe, scuttled some merchant ships, and attempted to destroy some other vessels in the harbour. From this place they soon departed, standing across the channel towards the side of Pembroke: they were discovered from the heights above St. Bride's bay, and were found to consist of two frigates, and two smaller vessels, steering from the British channel to turn St. David's head; from which they steered towards Fishguard, and came to an anchor in a small bay, not far from Lanonda church, at which place they hoisted French colours, and put out their boats.

While the principal fleets of France were confined within their own ports, their Spanish allies were dreadful sufferers. On the 14th of February, a memorable action took place off cape St. Vincent, between a squadron of British ships of war, under the command of admiral sir John Jervis, and a Spanish fleet commanded by don Joseph de Cordova. The disproportion between the fleets was remarkably great, that under sir John consisting of no more than 15 sail of the line, 4 frigates, a sloop of war, and a cutter; whilst the Spanish fleet consisted of 27 sail of the line, and 12 frigates; the enemy's force amounting to more than twice the metal of

the British admiral. The Spanish fleet was perceived by the *Minerva* frigate, on the night of the 11th, carrying the pendant of commodore Nelson, then on his way to join admiral Jervis, and on the 13th, their proximity to the British fleet was such, that their signal guns were distinctly heard.

Sir John Jervis got possession of four of the enemy's ships, while the van of the British fleet continued to press hard on the *Santissima Trinidad*, and the rest of the ships composing the Spanish rear of the retreating fleet; but unforeseen circumstances prevented the British admiral from making so many captures as he would otherwise have done. The ships separated from the fleet in the morning, now began to approach, together with two fresh ships, which had never appeared in the action: the late hour, joined to these circumstances, determined sir John to bring to, forming a strong line for the defence of the prizes, and such of his own ships as were very much disabled. The fresh ships of the enemy opened a terrible fire on the covering ships as soon as they came up, but their rage was instantly spent, for they sheered off in a short time, leaving the British commander to carry off his prizes without molestation, viz. the *Salvador del Mundo* and *San Joseph* of 112 guns each, and the *San Nicholas* of 84, with the *San Isidro* of 74 guns. The *Santissima Trinidad* made her escape, but as a perfect wreck, having ceased her firing before the action terminated, and, as some have maintained, even struck her colours. The loss of the British, in this memorable action is stated at 300 men killed and wounded, while the four captured ships had lost 693, and it may be presumed, that the loss of those which escaped, was also considerable.

In the West Indies this year was memorable for the reduction of *Trinidad*, taken by the British troops in the month of February, under the command of that much to be lamented officer, sir Ralph Abercrombie, who went out with a squadron, commanded by rear admiral Hervey. The forces destined for this expedition were embarked on the 12th, at Fort Royal, in Martinique. Four days after the British came in sight of *Trinidad*, standing towards the Gulph of Paria. The Spanish squadron was perceived at anchor, in Shagrumus Bay, before four in the afternoon, consisting of four sail of the line, and one frigate. Next morning the squadron of the enemy was discovered to be

on fire, and all of them, except one, were consumed to ashes. This fortunate change of circumstances enabled the general to turn his whole attention to the attack of the town, of which he made himself master, with little or no opposition. A capitulation was next entered on by the governor, and the whole island surrendered to the king of Great Britain.

The busy genius of Buonaparte, kept the revolutionary spirit alive in the South, but his were mere revolutions of power, not of principles. His will called in the auxiliary aid of his power, and he determined the morality of any measure by the means he had to execute it. He had long complained of the Venetian government, and charged it with favouring the Austrians, as well acting treacherously towards his troops ; all of which a few very polite people may allow to be true, but others may be apt to indulge some doubts, when they see the general take upon himself the charter of *le Juge et le Bourreau*. "What !" said the general, in a letter to the doge, "did you think I would tamely suffer the massacres excited by the Venetian government ? The blood of our brethren in arms," continued he, "shall be avenged ; and there is not a French battalion, charged with this mission, which does not feel three times the courage and strength necessary to punish you : the republic of Venice has returned the blackest perfidy for the generous treatment she has received from France." He concluded with offering peace or war ; and informed his Serenity, that if he did not instantly adopt the necessary measures for dispersing the banditti, as he called the persons of whom he complained, and arrest, and deliver up, within twenty-four hours, the persons, who, it was said, had assassinated some French soldiers, *war was declared*.

Accordingly the battalions, destined to inflict a signal vengeance on Venice, began their march, and, in a few days, the whole terra firma, lay suppliant at the feet of the conqueror. The Veronese were punished with the greatest severity : several thousands of armed peasantry, who presumed to contest the progress of the French divisions, were cut in pieces, or dispersed. A body of Sclavonians, who had joined them, retired to a large building, or fort, in which were deposited all their powder-waggons and ammunition. A howitzer was pointed against the building,

which was soon blown into the air, and 500 Slavonians literally annihilated ! After another bloody engagement, the French detachment reached the walls of Verona, which immediately surrendered.

The Venetian government now became humble and abject : the doge, having assembled the senate, it was resolved that the government should suspend all its functions, and that the republic, throwing itself on the mercy of France, should accept a provisional government from the latter : it was also decreed, that the *proveditori*, and other magistrates of whose conduct the French complained, should be delivered up, in order to be punished. On the 16th of May, a body of French troops took possession of the city, after which a municipality was formed, and every thing modelled according to the democratic *regime*. The most perfect liberty of the press (i. e. a right to praise Buonaparte and his government) was established, the catholic religion remained unaltered, and persons and property continued unmolested : but the ships of war, and the stores in the arsenals, were taken possession of in the name of the French republic.

Genoa was attacked upon much the same grounds : it was impossible, that that country, considering its vicinity to France, and the presence of the republican army, could escape the influence of that spirit of innovation which had electrified the rest of Europe. The French government pretended, that it had forborne to punish the Genoese nobility for the clandestine aid they afforded to the imperial army when in their neighbourhood, and for their marked attention to the partisans of Austria. The greater part of the people of Genoa had imbibed the principles of democratical liberty, and many tumults had happened between them and the adherents of the old government. The establishment of the Cisalpine republic had rendered the disaffected more daring, while some imprudent acts of the state-inquisitors, and the two councils, embroiled them with the French minister, and completed the revolution. This silly government, persuaded of its inability to stem the torrent, sent deputies to Buonaparte at Montebello, where a convention was concluded on the 6th of June.

As the British ministry were well informed that the Irish were making great efforts to procure auxiliaries from

France, and that the Batavian republic had been making formidable preparations for some naval expedition, the fleet under the command of admiral Duncan, had blockaded the Texel during the greater part of the summer. The English admiral having left his station, and proceeded to Yarmouth roads, for the purpose of refitting, admiral de Winter, with the Dutch fleet, put to sea. Captain Trollope, in the Russel of 74 guns, with a small squadron under his command, was left to watch the motions of the enemy; and on the 9th of October, a signal was made to admiral Duncan off Yarmouth roads, that the enemy's fleet was at sea. The British fleet, consisting of sixteen sail of the line, and three frigates, got under sail with astonishing rapidity, and by the afternoon lost sight of the land. Captain Trollope's small squadron was perceived on the morning of the 11th with signals flying, to intimate that an enemy's fleet was to leeward. The fleet under the command of admiral de Winter, consisted of four ships of 74 guns, five of 68, two of 64, four of 56, and two of 44 guns. Admiral Duncan gave the signal for engaging, and was obeyed with the utmost alacrity, vice-admiral Onslow, in the Monarch, bearing down upon the rear of the enemy, whose gallant example was followed by every ship of his division. Before one o'clock the battle commenced, when the whole British fleet broke the line of the enemy, and made it impracticable for them to reach the Texel, the land being about seven miles distant. Admiral Onslow, with the larboard division of the British fleet, engaged the rear of the Dutch, while the commander in chief directed all his strength against their van; the Venerable, in which he himself sailed, having been incessantly engaged almost two hours and a half. Although all the masts of de Winter's own ship went by the board, he fought for some time after like a true son of Mars, and only struck his colours when overpowered by numbers: it is said that not a single officer was left upon the quarter-deck of the Dutch flag-ship, but the admiral himself, the whole of them being either killed or wounded. The vice-admiral's ship lost all her masts about the same time, and accordingly struck to admiral Onslow's division. Before three o'clock more of the enemy's fleet surrendered; but as admiral Duncan found himself in only nine fathom water, and no more than five miles

from the land, he was wholly taken up in getting the disabled ships off the shore, and could not ascertain the number of prizes ; and as the wind blew strong on the land, the fleet was scattered, and some of the Dutch ships that had formerly struck, were, on that account, enabled to effect their escape. The prizes consisted of eight ships of the line, two of 56 guns, and one of 44 : the *Delft* of 56 guns foundered in sight of the British coast, and a frigate also was lost. It has been admitted on all hands, that a more sanguinary battle was never fought ; for in nine ships of admiral Duncan's fleet, the killed and wounded exceeded 700, and the loss sustained by the cold, but intrepid Dutch, must have been very severe. The flag ships of the enemy lost not less than 250 men each ; and it has been maintained that not a single ship among the number of the prizes, lost less than 100 men. The battle was fought so near the shore that thousands of spectators beheld the whole of it from first to last, without having it in their power to grant the smallest relief.

The gallantry of admiral Duncan on this occasion is justly entitled to applause ; but no part of his conduct is more deserving of commendation than his getting between the enemy and a lee-shore, or, in more intelligible language, between them and the land. This was a manœuvre which none who went before him, had ever attempted, in circumstances so manifestly critical. Had he not accomplished this object there is no reason to believe that he would have been victorious, even after rear-admiral Story had, most ignominiously, deserted the gallant *de Winter* : it will at the same time be recorded to the honour of admiral Duncan, that the exquisite judgment he discovered in freeing himself from his critical situation, was at least equal to the bold and intrepid spirit which could hazard such an experiment. When he returned home he was created baron Duncan, of Lundie, in the county of Perth, and viscount Duncan of Camperdown, from the place on the coast of Holland, off which his lordship gained the memorable victory. This glorious victory was of so much value to the British nation that every heart rejoiced when the news arrived ; a general and most brilliant illumination took place throughout the kingdom, and a day of solemn thanksgiving was appointed, when the king, accompanied by the public authorities, went

in state to St. Paul's cathedral : the procession was attended by three waggons, bearing flags, that had been taken from the French, Spaniards, and Dutch, during the war, and these were severally borne to the altar by a flag-officer, who had been present when they were taken. A great number of officers and seamen attended upon the occasion, and all ranks were sensible of the obligation they were under to the defenders of their country.

When Buonaparte had crowned his glorious struggles in Italy by an advantageous peace, his presence was no longer required there and he returned to Paris. On his arrival in the capital he was greeted by the congratulations of every description of persons, in a manner the most flattering. Poets, painters, and sculptors, high and low, whether learned or ignorant, pious or profane, all exercised their ingenuity to display some excellent feature, either of the person or the mind of this extraordinary hero, and among the various conceits that the lively imagination of his admirers hit upon, some even laid claim to the quality of oracular prophecies. The following anagram, arising out of the French revolution, expressed by the French words *revolution Française*, was considered so perfectly of this kind, that it served to elevate our adventurer astonishingly in the estimation of a weak and credulous people : it was thought a strong symptom of infidelity to doubt its being a divine discovery, that, by cutting off the word *veto*, which being exercised by the king, had led on this terrible revolution, the remaining letters pointed to Buonaparte, as putting the last hand to it, *un Corse la finara*—"a Corsican will terminate it." The discovery is certainly ingenious : but, perhaps, in a land of free-thinking, one may venture to suggest, that a very small portion of divine criticism would have discovered in this oracle a trifling deviation from truth, which leaves it little above the production of a finite and unlettered mind. The *c* with the cedilla in *Française*, is not the *c* in *corse*, one taking the sound of *s*, the other of *k*. It is no matter ; the French have too much good-nature and politeness to observe niceties of this sort ; the general was in fashion, and who would be so rude as to tell the *beau monde*, that it was mistaken ! Buonaparte had done much for the country ; and whoever they were that might

have grounds of complaint against him, he had a strong claim to the gratitude of the French.

The manners of the general were precisely calculated to gain him the most useful sort of popularity. Ardently courted by all the parties, he could easily select the most suitable confidants: these he chose on account of their prudence and policy, rather than for the violence of their sentiments. It is not true that the general was a jacobin, or that he shewed any attachment to persons of that turbulent sect. Whether his name was ever enrolled among the members of that club is very doubtful, and if it was, it was only in that careless kind of way, whereby some persons in this country became Free Masons and Odd Fellows, without taking any interest in such societies. The nearest character to that assumed by Buonaparte at the time of his arrival in Paris, in 1797, is that of the *gentlemen* democrats in England, who, carrying their views *no further* than the overthrow of the existing government, do not condescend to explain themselves to, or to mix with, their inferior brethren, any more than is necessary to keep them in good humour, in order to preserve them as tools, to be used as circumstances may require their services.

This temporizing policy on the part of Buonaparte was rather advantageous to France than otherwise: for, while he declined taking any measures offensive to either of the factions, they were each kept quiet from a fear of making him an enemy by any premature effort. He would, however, have gained very little influence over the public mind, if his character or conduct had been anything like what it has been depicted in those unprincipled fabrications published to the world, under the titles of "REVOLUTIONARY LIVES, SECRETS OF CABINETS," &c. The respect he acquired, arose out of the punctuality with which he attended to all his private as well as public duties, and which rendered a reproof from him of so much weight, that every conspicuous person became habitually desirous of avoiding it. Those who think they can promote the interests of virtue and humanity by the propagation of groundless calumnies have formed a very wrong notion of mankind: it is a misfortune for the English, that the French nation, with this great chieftain at their head, are their enemies, and certainly, as it relates to commerce, unjustly and imprudently so; but,

Before any Englishman complains of this improper enmity, let him ask himself what friendship can be held with a people who pretend to publish the secrets of the closet and the bed-chamber, for the avowed purpose of displaying the secret vices of a *whole* family, which common observation could not have discerned.

Buonaparte, as well as his family in general, have more good qualities than bad ones, and their bad ones are infinitely less vicious than those of some families equally conspicuous, from whom much better things might have been expected: it is true, that the conduct of the general had little of that ceremonious politeness in it which is so highly prized by the admirers of the old courts, and the frankness of his manners often led him to censure persons less attentive to their duties than he was to his own, which lax characters construed into rudeness. The principal difference between Buonaparte and his calumniators, is, that he bluntly declares his opinion without regard to consequences, whereas they never speak what they think, till they have looked round to see how their opinions will be approved by the persons to whose judgments they have surrendered their own. No persons were more sincere in their devotion to the general than the men of science and literature: his victories had enriched the museum of Paris, with the principal curiosities of the ancient and modern world, and that capital had now become the emporium of all that was rare and valuable in the world of taste and science.

Shortly after his arrival, the general was presented with a long list of the Chefs' d'œuvres, and celebrated curiosities, which the victories of the republican armies have procured to France.

Whilst the directory carried on a vexatious contest with the English government, it entered upon one equally unjust on the continent. The design of interfering in the affairs of all other governments, had been evinced by the directory, as strongly as by Buonaparte, in the case of St. Marino; but the government of Switzerland had, hitherto, rejected any kind of assistance, and sturdily resolved to remain independent, as well of friends as of foes. The subjugation of that country had been long premeditated by the executive directory, and the period of its accomplishment was only protracted by the influence of Carnot and Bar-

thelemy, which was a principal reason why those members were marked out for banishment. To subvert the government of Switzerland, was a direct violation of the treaty of 1792; but an insurrection in the Pays-de-Vaud, was raised, by French principles and French bribery, to justify entering the country with an armed force, under pretence of aiding the people to obtain their freedom, and *purify* their government. General Schauenburg, at the head of 15,000 men, was commanded to march towards that country, with a view to support the claims of the petitioners in the Pays-de-Vaud at the point of the bayonet. A proclamation was issued by the supreme council of Berne, requesting the people of the Pays-de-Vaud to assemble, in arms, to repeat a fresh their oath of allegiance, to accomplish, without loss of time, a radical reform of the government, and not only to contend for their ancient rights, but labour for their re-establishment to the utmost of their power. As the claims of the insurgents were not promptly attended to, a serious insurrection was the immediate consequence. The insurgents got possession of the fort of Chillon, and disturbances equally serious, appeared in the southern districts: it now seemed necessary to the government of Berne, to bring the insurgents to a sense of their duty by force of arms, for which purpose general Weiss was sent against them, at the head of 20,000 men. Whether the tardy movements of this general resulted from design or not, we pretend not to determine, yet, certain it is, that they served to confirm the disaffected in their resolutions of perseverance; and the arrival of the French general, at this critical juncture, decided the fate of the country. The French general had no sooner passed the boundaries, than he sent an officer to the Swiss commanders, accompanied by two hussars, to Yverdun, but, on his return, one of the hussars was killed at Thiriens. While we are incapable of determining who were the aggressors, it is certain, that Schauenburg considered this as tantamount to a declaration of war, and, accordingly, his troops immediately marched forward, while those of general Weiss commenced a retreat, which placed the whole Pays-de-Vaud in the hands of the French during the month of February. Still, however, the government of Berne entertained some hopes of averting the impending destruction; and, in order to accomplish this important

object, they delivered up the centinels, by whom the hussar had been killed, and entered into fresh negotiations. But it now appeared impossible to prevent a war with France, although the government did every thing in its power to rouse the people to contribute their assistance: it was enacted that fifty-two deputies should be added to the council, and these selected from the chief towns and communes, who proposed a radical reform of abuses in the existing government; which laudable example was imitated by Fribourg, Lucerne, Soleure, Zurich, and Schaffhausen. In this delicate situation of affairs, they continued to negotiate with the executive directory of France, but, at the same time, continued a force of 20,000 men, under the command of a general d'Erlach, the rest of the cantons of Switzerland contributing to the general defence; and furnishing about 5,500 men. An armistice was concluded with Schauenburg in the Pays-de-Vaud, when general Brune advanced to his assistance, and fresh troops from France entered Switzerland. The truce was to have expired on the 1st of March, but general d'Erlach demanded, in a peremptory manner, that his troops should be put in motion on the 26th of February, being extremely apprehensive that their ardour would cool. This order was instantly complied with by a decree of the council, and the different posts were informed that hostilities would commence on the 1st of March.

On the 2d of March, 1798, the castle of Dornach, situated on the northern extremity of the canton of Soleure, four miles and a half south of Basle, was attacked and carried by the republicans, when 13,000 men proceeded to the very walls of that town, which, at the first summons, surrendered to general Schauenburg. The fate of Fribourg soon followed, submitting to the authority of general Brune, when the army of Switzerland was under the necessity of retreating. The rapid advances of the French army were powerfully seconded by a spirit of disaffection too apparent in the army of general d'Erlach, and a proclamation was made by the council of Berne, that the levy of the *landsturm* (rising in a mass) was ready for action; but it was a measure which, in Switzerland, was productive of pernicious effects. When possessed of arms the people soon effected the dissolution of their own government, establish-

ed a *pro tempore* regency, signified their proceedings to general Brune, and ordered the army to be dismissed, on condition that the French troops would not advance beyond their present positions. These concessions, however, did not meet the views of the republican commander; for he demanded that the town should be garrisoned by the soldiers of France. An alarming mutiny broke out in the army of Switzerland, the left wing of which put to death a number of their officers, who were unfriendly to their views: it appears, from authentic documents, that no fewer than 11,500 men had abandoned this army. About 8,000 of the regular troops were stationed at Neweneg, while 6,400 maintained their station at Frauenbron, to carry which, general Schauenburg marched from Soleure with 18,000 men. Both these posts were attacked by the French on the 5th of March, in the morning, when the glorious resistance of the Swiss troops stationed at Neweneg, seemed to portend a future victory; but those who were posted at Frauenbron, were under the necessity of retreating. General d'Erlach succeeded in rallying his troops at Uteren, four miles and a half south of Frauenbron, when a second action took place, but it likewise terminated in favour of the republicans. The Swiss again attempted to face the enemy at Grauholtz, about five miles north-east of Berne, but were driven back to the very gates of the metropolis, and, after a sanguinary conflict, were totally defeated. In this engagement the Swiss are computed to have lost 2,000 men killed and wounded, and the French not less than 1,800.

The city of Berne capitulated to general Brune, and he entered it in triumph on the evening of the 5th. The Swiss troops at Neweneg and Guminen, were forced to retreat; the soldiers, at the last of which places, put their officers to death, in a fit of despair, and the unfortunate general d'Erlach was murdered by his own soldiers, in attempting to escape from the field of battle. The conquest of Berne was the prelude to the surrender of almost the whole of Switzerland, though many parts of that free country appeared determined to resist the invaders to the last extremity: they defeated general Schauenburg with the prodigious loss of 3,000 men, after he had given his assent to a treaty, obliging himself not to take possession of the smaller cantons. It was not to be expected that the independent spirit of a

few towns could long resist the power of large and victorious armies. The French generals proclaimed a new form of government, suited to their own taste : and, by means of laying heavy contributions, and quartering troops upon the inhabitants, goaded them into submission to the new system, which was styled “ The *Helvetic republic*.”

Possessed as the French government now was of a prodigious army, at perfect leisure, it found little difficulty in giving a very strong appearance of sincerity to its threats of invading the British dominions ; yet it seemed anxious to distract the councils of its enemy as to its ultimate designs. Buonaparte, who was appointed to the command of that immense body of forces, called “ The army of England,” was sent to Radstadt as the French plenipotentiary to the congress, which seemed to place the object of the expedition, whatever it might be, at a great distance of time ; the English government, however, who never took much pains to be very correct in its information, thought it made a very shrewd discovery, when it traced its destination to Ireland ; and several circumstances occurred to strengthen the opinion. Buonaparte only continued at Radstadt just long enough to find fault with some of the members, and some of the proceedings of the congress, when he returned to Paris ; this was a proof that he was ready to go to Ireland, especially as about the same time several persons, connected with the disaffected society of United Irishmen, were detected in driving a cart along the sea-beach, upon the coast of Kent, with a design to engage the first boat they could hire to take them over to France, in order to present a paper to the directory, inviting it to send an army over to help a club of spouters in London to overturn the government !

But if the English government augured too much in inferring the destination of Buonaparte’s expedition, it was not incorrect in its opinion, that Ireland was in extreme danger : its own barbarous conduct coming in collision with the barbarous manners and superstition of the people, had created such an inextinguishable hatred between the partizans of the government, and the United Irishmen, that could only be subdued in a torrent of bloodshed.

The United Irish became so impatient, in Dublin, to put their plans in execution, that some of their most fu-

rious leaders recommended an instant rising. The situation of the Irish government became every day more critical, as they could neither be certain where the blow was to be aimed, nor what means should be employed in order to render it ineffectual : but the mysterious designs and extended views of their leaders, were gradually unfolded by the seizure of papers, and by secret information, and defensive measures were, accordingly adopted.

The editors of the London newspapers, with that conscientious regard to truth, which marks all their loyal effusions, entered into all the minutiae of a vast and complicated plot, which, they assured the public, would have broken out within a few hours, had not the timely interference of their all-wise government prevented it. These general declarations were, indeed, soon obscured by the superior light of *The Times* ! for that journal told the public, that Manchester was only the centre of the conspiracy, and that it was connected with all the principal towns. An agreement, it was said, had been entered into by the conspirators of Manchester and London, to set fire to the metropolis in different places, and reduce it to ruins in a few hours. Plans were discovered for cutting off the water-works, and weapons were found on the margin of the Thames : in fact, it would be endless to relate the falsehoods, contrived by the London newspapers, to procure the unjust imprisonment of their fellow countrymen ; and it would be impossible to animadvert with sufficient severity upon the depravity of a public, who could give credit to such fabrications, without evidence ; yet, such was the effect of those alarming fables, that the ministry were enabled to enter the house of every man who denounced their corrupt government, and lock him up quiet in a cell, upon a false charge of high treason.

It was about this period that the English ministers, and the English newspapers, began to make Buonaparte personally of consequence, by opening upon him their batteries of personal abuse ; and it may be of some use to the English people to recollect, that the same Pittites, and the same press, which opened the volume of abuse against the general, contrived also calumnies enough to justify the arrest of forty or fifty innocent men, for the gratification of *mere private revenge*. The pretence offered by the minis-

ters for arresting so many of the feeble inhabitants of London was, that they met secretly to learn the use of arms, and were in possession of dangerous weapons, for the purpose of aiding the enemy, in case he should attempt to invade the kingdom. Upon this charge, of which there was not the slightest evidence, unless it were against a few persons whom the government immediately discharged, did the pious, the humane, the honourable men, who compose the British legislature, suspend the only law which gives England any advantage over the most despotic country, and consign a great number of innocent men to the tortures of a secret prison.

France had long looked with envy upon the territorial and commercial greatness of Britain in the East Indies, and every species of intrigue had been employed, as well by the new government as the old, to entangle that country in perpetual hostilities with the native governments: it was favourable to these views, that Hyder Ally, an intrepid soldier, who had usurped the throne and territory of Mysore, entertained a similar hatred to the English, owing to the obstacles which their power and resources opposed to his enterprising schemes. A close alliance between the governments of France and Mysore, obliged the English to be constantly on the alert in the East Indies; and, though the British arms were triumphant in every contest, the danger increased with the progress of time, inasmuch as the French officers and engineers instructed their allies in all the mysteries of European tactics.

On the death of Hyder, his son and successor, Tippoo Saib, evinced the same dislike and attachment, and, being severely beaten by the English, just previous to the war that took place with the republic, he hailed that event as likely to afford him an opportunity of gratifying his resentment; their mutual convenience drew the two powers into close correspondence with each other, and the army of the Sultan became officered by Frenchmen. No doubts were entertained in England as to the designs of Tippoo, but, occupied as France was, during her struggle with the combined powers of Europe, it was known that she could spare no effectual force to co-operate with him. When the continental war had ceased, this difficulty was removed; but there was another, which seemed equally insurmountable,

and this was discovered in the superiority of the British navy, that now rode triumphant in every sea.

Notwithstanding this latter obstacle, France had resolved to reach and attack the British possessions in India, and the enterprising spirit of Buonaparte, was just suited to the hazard of the undertaking. To accomplish this remote and visionary project, it was resolved to invade and seize upon the whole territory of Egypt, that, by carrying the commerce of the east through the Red sea, the new French colony might become the grand mart, where all Europe might be supplied with Indian commodities, much cheaper than they could be procured from the English; at the same time, that, as a military post, it could at all times find means to transport auxiliaries to the coast of Coromandel. This plan was imparted to Tippoo, and it was known by the government in India nearly as soon as it was communicated to the cabinet of London.

It was the expedition to Egypt, that the directory and the general were preparing, whilst they masked their designs under the appearance of organizing an army of England to co-operate with the United Irishmen, although the object was concealed with so much address, that it was doubtful, after it was known that Malta had been captured, whether the general might not, even from thence, bend his course for Ireland.

Just at the point of time when the British government had most to dread from the Irish insurrection, and when it was under the necessity of guarding every French port on the Western ocean, that part of the army of England, which was cantoned in the southern ports, put to sea, under the command of Buonaparte. On the 20th of May, 1798, the general put to sea from the harbour of Toulon, on board the ship *l'Orient*, of 120 guns, bearing the flag of admiral Bruyes, to take the command of a fleet then collecting from the different ports under the dominion of France, and which was to consist of thirteen sail of the line, besides four frigates and near 400 transports. On board the fleet was an army of 40,000 men, and a vast number of merchants and adventurers, who, ready to take any road that seemed to lead to fortune, blindly associated their fate with this expedition, without knowing any one fact relative to it, more, than that Buonaparte was at its head: there were also a great num-

ber of men of science and learned persons, besides artists and mechanics, all of whom were capable of contributing to the prosperity of a new colony; and the whole of this, including the sailors, it is supposed, made the whole number engaged in the expedition amount to near 70.000 souls.

The voyage commenced under a fair wind. The frigates led the van; the admiral, accompanied by the advice boats, followed, and the ships of the line formed the rear: the transports kept in-shore, between the Hieres and the Levant. On the 22d the fleet off St. Fiorenzo steered in an easterly course for cape Corsica, leaving Genoa on the larboard. Having passed between cape Corsica and the island Capraia, the leading division of the fleet was, at five P. M. to the west of Pinosa, where the wind failing, the convoy could make no way. On the 26th, with the van off the mouths of the Bonifacio, the fleet lay to for the divisions of Ajaccio and Civita Vecchia. No land was in sight on the morning of the 27th; and on the 29th the frigates were ordered to look into Cagliari, and to return to Porto Vecchia, in case of encountering an enemy superior in force.

On the 6th of June the fleet arrived off the island of Goza, and, the same morning, all the ships of war had passed in review under the stern of the admiral, when a vessel was sent to reconnoitre several ships ahead; and it was found that the division from Civita Vecchia, under Desaix, had, by keeping the Italian coast, passed the straits of Messina, and got a few days ahead of the fleet on its way to Malta, Cumino and Cuminetto, which, with Goza and Malta, form the whole territory of the grand master. Malta was seen at six o'clock, and two crazy barks came off, to sell tobacco. At night the city was in perfect darkness, the Juno frigate was within shot of St. Elmo, and off the port. Signal was made for forming the frigates, and the whole boats were ordered out at nine o'clock: the ships of war and convoy fired several guns as night signals, on which the only light remaining on the port was extinguished. The captains went on board the l'Orient for orders, and, however unprincipled such a resolution might be, the fame of its riches had determined Buonaparte to attack and seize the island and its dependencies. On the 9th Buonaparte asked permission to water his fleet, but as the grand master apprehended danger from so formidable an armament, he

refused to grant the request ; this gave Buonaparte an excuse for commencing hostilities.

On the 10th, at four A. M. therefore, a semi-circular line was formed, from the point of St. Catharine to a league distance, on the left of the city, completely blockading the port. The Juno was stationed in the centre, off St. Elmo and St. Angelo, while the convoy lay at anchor between Goza and Cumino. Immediately after this, the fort St. Catharine fired a shot at the boats employed in landing the division under general Desaix, and the ecclesiastical standard was hoisted on the fort commanding the city. At the same instant, on the other end of the line, shallops were employed landing the troops and artillery, which carried two advanced posts, after a momentary resistance. The batteries of all the forts now opened their fire on the boats and vessels, which was kept up with vigour till evening. A sortie was attempted by the knights, supported by some of the people from the country. The French troops ascended the first eminence at 10 A. M. and, having marched behind the city, drove them in under the protection of their walls and batteries. Many of the knights fell a sacrifice to their valour, being massacred on their return, in a commotion which had arisen in the city. On the first day the knights were in grand council ; provisions of all kinds and ammunition were carried from the city into the forts, and the general bustle and activity, announced the most warlike intentions. On the second day only part of the knights wore their uniform ; disputes had arisen, and they continued agitated, but inactive.

At day-break on the 11th a languid fire was maintained : a bark under the ecclesiastical standard came out of the port, and was conducted to the l'Orient ; at eleven, a second, under the flag of truce, brought those knights, who, in the interest of the French, chose to abandon Malta : from them it appeared that the garrison was almost totally unprovided, and at four P. M. there were fewer men than guns on the walls of the fort. It was evident that the citizens and knights had disagreed, the gates of the forts being shut, and all intercourse between them and the city at an end. The general sent his aid-de-camp, Junot, with his ultimatum ; a few minutes after, twelve Maltese commissioners came on board the l'Orient, and on the 12th, at half past

eleven the signal was hoisted, to shew that Malta was in the power of the French. Under a salute of 500 guns from the fleet, the French troops took possession of the forts, thus completing the conquest of the strongest post in the Mediterranean.

During the short interval of eight days, Buonaparte took possession of the island of Malta, organized therein a provisional government, victualled the fleet, took in water, and arranged all the military and administrative dispositions: he quitted it on the 19th of June, having entrusted the command to general Vaubois, and appointed citizen Menard commissary of marine.

The wind blew freshly from the north-west. On the 25th of June the armament came within sight of the island of Candia, having laid-to the best part of the day for the convoy, which had dispersed in a fog. On the 26th the captain of the *Juno* received orders to make all the sail possible for Alexandria, now sixty leagues distant; and there to learn, from the French consul, whether the expedition had been heard of, and what was the disposition of the inhabitants with regard to the enterprise. This frigate was to be the first vessel to anchor on the African shore, and was ordered to collect the Frenchmen resident in Alexandria, and shelter them from the popular tumults that the arrival of the fleet might excite. After this duty, the *Juno* was ordered to return to the rendezvous of the fleet, six leagues off Cape Brule. Every sail was now spread, but there was scarcely a breath of wind during the whole of the 26th, and part of the following day. By noon, however, on the 27th, she was within thirty leagues of Alexandria; the welcome cry of "land!" was heard from the maintop at four, and at six o'clock it was visible from the deck, extending like a white stripe along the dark edge of the sea, while not a single tree or house interrupted the monotony of the scene. The *Juno*, steering east by south, weathered Cape Durazo; and at one o'clock in the afternoon a lieutenant was sent on shore, who returned at midnight with the French consul and drogoman on board, and the frigate set sail to join the fleet.

The fleet having slackened sail to wait for intelligence, the general took advantage of the interval to distribute his general orders among the forces: he had addressed a proclamation to the army immediately on his arrival at Toulon,

the tendency and design of which was to preserve the idea of the expedition being about to invade the British dominions.

There is great reason to believe, that if the army had formed any conception of the nature of the voyage or of the kind of warfare in which they were about to engage, before they had quitted France, they would have mutined rather than have engaged in the expedition : but as they were promised by the general six acres of land for each man, as the price of the first victory, and their extreme ignorance led them to believe that they were steering the shortest course for England, they had embarked on the voyage as on a party of pleasure : yet a few days, and the charm would be broken ! instead of the cultivated fields and golden palaces of Albion, the disappointed multitude would find themselves among the dreary ruins and barren sands of Africa : it was, therefore, necessary to set England before them, as the goal to which they were hastening, and Egypt as nothing more than an outpost, that stood in their way.

On the 1st of July the consul arrived on board the admiral's ship ; he stated, that the appearance of the French frigate, occasioned the immediate adoption of measures against the christian inhabitants of the city, and that he experienced great difficulty in coming away : he added, that 14 English vessels appeared on the 28th of June within half a league of Alexandria, and that admiral Nelson, after communicating with the English consul relative to the French fleet, had directed his course towards the north-east ; and lastly, he informed the general that it was resolved to defend the city and forts of Alexandria against the troops of any nation that should attempt to land.

“ It was now apprehended,” says general Berthier, “ that the English fleet would suddenly appear, and attack us, at a moment, and in circumstances, the most unfavourable for resistance. Not an instant was to be lost : the general in chief, the same evening, made the necessary arrangements for a landing, and fixed on the point at Marabou as the spot ; he ordered the fleet to anchor as near the point as possible ; but two ships of war, in preparing to execute this, ran foul of the admiral's ship, which caused the order to be countermanded, and the armament remained at its then situation. This was at a distance of about three

leagues from the shore, the wind was northerly, and blew with violence, and the waves, dashing against the breakers which surround the coast, rendered the debarkation equally perilous and difficult ; but neither these, nor the adverse state of the elements, could retard the brave men, who were eager to anticipate the hostile dispositions of the inhabitants.

“ Buonaparte was anxious to superintend the debarkation in person ; he went on board a galley, and was instantly followed by a numerous train of boats, in which he had ordered generals Bon and Kleber to embark such parts of their divisions as were on board the ships of war. Generals Desaix, Regnier, and Menou, whose divisions were on board the transports, were ordered to effect a landing with their men in three columns, as near as possible to the point of Marabou. The sea, in an instant, was covered with boats, which stemmed the furious impetuosity of the waves. The gally which carried Buonaparte approached the nearest breakers, whence the entrance to the creek of Marabou was discovered ; he there waited for those boats that had orders to join him, but they arrived not at the place till after sun-set, and were unable, during the night, to penetrate the ledge of breakers. At length, very early in the morning, the general in chief, effected a landing, at the head of the foremost troops, who immediately formed in the desert, about three leagues from Alexandria.”

“ At break of day on the 2d,” says Louis Buonaparte, “ we invested Alexandria, after driving into the town several small detachments of cavalry. The enemy defended themselves like men ; the artillery which they planted on the walls was wretchedly served, but their musquetry was excellent. These people have no idea of children’s play ; they either kill or are killed. The first enclosure, however, that is to say, that of the city of the Arabs, was carried ; and, soon after the second, in spite of the fire from the houses. The forts, which are on the coast on the other side of the city, were then invested ; and in the evening capitulated.”

CHAPTER XII.

Buonaparte having established a divan, and appointed general Kleber commandant at Alexandria, gave orders that the transport vessels should come into the port of that city, and immediately proceed to land the horses, provisions and every thing with which they were laden, for the use of the expedition : the utmost diligence was used on this occasion, as well by night, as by day. The port not being capable of admitting the ships of war, they remained at anchor in the road, at some distance, which circumstance rendered the landing of the battering cannon a work of great difficulty.

Buonaparte settled with admiral Brueys, that the fleet should anchor at Aboukir, where the road is good, and the landing easy ; and whence a communication might be kept open with Rosetta, as well as with Alexandria ; at the same time he ordered the admiral to cause the channel of the old port of Alexandria to be carefully sounded and examined, his intention being that the squadron should afterwards, if possible, enter it ; or, in case it was found impracticable, that it should proceed to Corfu. Every consideration required that the debarkation should be as speedily completed as possible ; the English might suddenly present themselves, the squadron, therefore, could not be too soon freed from the incumbrances of the expedition : it was also essential to march against Cairo to prevent the Mamelukes destroying or removing the magazines, and for this purpose also, it was necessary, as expeditiously as possible, to land the troops requisite for such an operation. During these proceedings, Buonaparte inspected the town and fortifications ; he gave orders for the erection of new works, and took every measure that tended in a civil, as well as a military point of view, to ensure the tranquillity and defence of the city : and, finally, he arranged every thing, so that the troops intended for the purpose were soon enabled to march.

Two routes lead from Alexandria to Cairo, the first is through the desert, by Demenhur ; to proceed by the second, it is necessary to arrive at Rosetta, by the seaside, and crossing at the distance of a league from Aboukir, a

strait of about 200 toises wide, which joins the lake Madie to the sea ; but to go by this route, for which they were entirely unprepared, would necessarily retard the progress of the army. Nevertheless, Buonaparte caused a small flotilla to be prepared, which he intended should proceed up the Nile. This flotilla was commanded by citizen Perree, chief of division, and consisted of seven small sloops, three gun-boats, and a xebeck, which would have been a considerable assistance to the army, had the route to Rosetta been taken, in carrying the baggage, and provisions of the troops, and co-operating with them on all occasions : but the French had not yet taken possession of Rosetta, and in proceeding by that route Buonaparte would have retarded the progress of the army to Cairo, at least eight or ten days : he, therefore, determined to advance through the desert, by Demenhur, and by this route general Desaix had been ordered to proceed.

The division of Kleber, commanded by general Dugua, received orders to proceed, together with the dismounted cavalry, to the mouth of the Nile, in order to cover the entrance of the French flotilla into that river ; the general was also instructed to take possession of Rosetta, to establish therein a provisional divan, to leave a garrison in the place, to erect a battery at Lisbe, and to embark a quantity of rice in the flotilla ; after which he was ordered to proceed towards Cairo, on the left bank of the Nile, in order to join the army near Rahmanieh, and the flotilla was to proceed up the river with all possible expedition.

The main army left Alexandria on the 6th and 7th of July : during their march they were greatly harassed by the Arabs, who had filled up all the wells at Beda and at Birkit ; so that the soldiers, scorched by the heat of the sun, felt all the torments of a parching thirst, which they had no means of assuaging. The wells, which generally yield a little brackish water, were explored, but a little muddy water could alone be obtained, and, at the moment, a glass of the pure element would have sold for its weight in gold ! The Arabs never appeared in great numbers, although many skirmishes took place, in one of which the general de brigade, Mireur, was mortally wounded.

On the 10th when the army was proceeding on its march for Rahmanieh, the paucity of the wells obliged the divis-

ions of generals Menou, Regnier, and Bon, to halt. The soldiers soon discovered the Nile: accoutred as they were, they plunged in, and drank plentifully of a water, comparatively delicious. But, speedily, the drums recalled them to their colours; a corps of about eight hundred Mamelukes were perceived approaching, in order of battle: the soldiers ran to their arms, the enemy retired, and took the route to Demenhur, where they encountered the division of general Desaix, who had not advanced; the discharge of cannon announced an action. Buonaparte instantly marched against the Mamelukes, but the artillery of general Desaix had already compelled them to retreat; they were soon put to flight, leaving 40 men killed or wounded. Parmentier, of the 16th demi-brigade, was killed in this affair, as was one of the guides attached to the cavalry; ten of the infantry were slightly wounded. The troops, exhausted by fatigue and privations, were greatly in want of repose; and the horses, unavoidably harassed and enfeebled by the voyage, required it still more. These considerations induced Buonaparte to halt at Rahmanieh, the 11th and 12th, when he expected the flotilla, and the division under the command of general Dugua.

This general had taken possession of Rosetta without any obstacle, and, by forced marches, joined the army at the expected period. With respect to the flotilla, he announced, that it ascended the river with great difficulty, in consequence of the lowness of the water; however, it arrived on the night of the 24th, and, during the same night, the army set out for Miniet-el-Sayd, where it rested; and the 25th, before day-break, it proceeded again on its march.

In the course of that day the Mamelukes, to the number of about 4,000, were discovered at the distance of a league: their right was covered by the village of Chebreisse, in which they placed some pieces of cannon, and also by the Nile, on which they had a flotilla, consisting of gun-boats and armed dgerms. Buonaparte ordered the French flotilla to continue its course, disposing itself so as to co-operate with the left of the army, and to engage the enemy's vessels, at the moment the former should attack the Mamelukes and the village of Chebreisse. The violence of the wind deranged this plan: the flotilla passed the left of the army, and was driven nearly a league higher up, where it was

compelled to engage at a great disadvantage, inasmuch as it had, at the same time, to sustain the fire of the Mamelukes, the Fellahs, (peasants or husbandmen,) and the Arabs, and to defend itself against the enemy's flotilla.

A number of the Fellahs, led on by a party of Mamelukes, advanced into the river, and getting on board some dgerms, they possessed themselves of one galley and a gun-boat. The commander, Perree, disposed his force so as to make a successful attack in his turn, and speedily retook the galley and the gun-boat. His xebeck, which on all sides dealt fire and death, prevented the recapture of those vessels, and destroyed several of the enemy's gun-boats: he was powerfully supported in this unequal contest by the coolness and intrepidity of general Andreossy, and by the citizens Monge, Berthollet, Junot, Payeur, and Bourienne, secretary to Buonaparte, who were on board the xebeck.

In the mean time, the noise of the artillery made known to Buonaparte that the flotilla was engaged; he marched the army *au pas de charge*, and, approaching Chebreisse, he perceived the Mamelukes ranged in order of battle in front of the village. The general in chief reconnoitred the position, and immediately formed the army; it was composed of five divisions, each division formed a square, presenting at each side a front of six deep, the artillery was placed at the angles, and in the centre the cavalry and baggage. The grenadiers of each square formed platoons which flanked the divisions, and were intended to reinforce the points of attack. The miners, and those charged with the depot of artillery, posted and barricaded themselves in two villages in the rear, to secure places of retreat in case of that event. The Mamelukes, at this time, were not more than half a league from the army. Suddenly they advanced in crowds, without order or form, and wheeled about on the flanks and on the rear; other masses fell with impetuosity on the right and front of the army: they were suffered to approach until the grape-shot could effectually play upon them, when the artillery opened, and they were soon put to flight. Some of the bravest rushed, sabre in hand, upon the platoons on the flanks; the onset was received with firmness, and nearly the whole were killed by the fire of the small arms, or by the bayonet.

Emboldened by this success, the army advanced rapidly

against the village of Chebreisse, which the right wing was ordered to attack. This post was carried after a feeble resistance: the defeat of the Mamelukes was complete, they fled in disorder towards Cairo; their flotilla retreated up the Nile with all possible expedition. The loss of the Mamelukes exceeded 600 men, of whom more were killed than wounded; that of the French was about 70, besides the loss on board the flotilla.

The commandant Perree, in his account of the affair says, "I had 20 of my men wounded and several killed. A ball struck my sword out of my hand, and carried away a piece of my left arm. I do not think, however, that it will be attended with any bad consequences; indeed, it is already nearly well.

"I cannot describe to you what we suffered in this expedition: we were reduced for several days to subsist entirely on water-melons, during which we were constantly exposed to the fire of the Arabs, although with the exception of a few killed and wounded, we always came off victorious. The Nile is very far from answering the description I had received of it: it winds incessantly, and is withal very shallow."

There is, however, one circumstance that attended this skirmish, which none of the French writers like to mention; namely, that the Mamelukes accomplished their end by getting a temporary possession of the flotilla; for each carried off as much of the baggage as he could, and when the gallant Frenchmen recovered their squadron, they found that they "had nothing left but what was on their backs!"

After the action was over, Buonaparte ordered the general of brigade, Zayoncheck, to proceed with about 500 dismounted cavalry, along the right bank of the Nile, in a route parallel to the march of the army, which advanced on the left bank. The 26th the army halted at Shabour, and on the 27th at Comscherif: it was incessantly harassed during the march, by the Arabs; it could not advance farther than the distance of a cannon shot without falling into an ambuscade. The assistant to the adjutant-general Gallois, was killed while carrying an order from Buonaparte; the adjutant Denano fell into the hands of the Arabs, and was killed. All communication, beyond 30

toises from the rear of the army was cut off: no intelligence, therefore, could be forwarded to or received from Alexandria.

All the villages at which the army arrived were abandoned; neither men nor cattle were to be seen: the soldiers lay upon heaps of corn, though they had no bread to eat, they were equally destitute of animal food, and subsisted only upon some lentils, and a kind of thin cakes, which the soldiers made themselves, by bruising the corn. The army continued its march towards Cairo, and on the 19th of July general Zayoncheck united with the main army, where the Nile divides itself into two branches, those of Rosetta and Damietta.

It is hardly possible to trace the march of the French in Egypt without examining the truth of a frequently repeated observation, "that its progress was marked with blood." So many acrimonious remarks have been made by the different belligerent powers against each other, that the censures passed on either side should be received with great caution, and it would be even better that *harsh truths* should be altogether rejected, than that one statement should be admitted, originating only in passion. The same caution is to be observed in admitting the panegyrics that have been passed upon the different parties by their several admirers: if that arose out of passion, these arise out of flattery, and neither are entitled to credit. In examining the question before us, the testimony of an Englishman may be doubted, if he takes the affirmative side; nor can that of a Frenchman be believed if he answers in the negative; it would be an extremely different thing if an Englishman were to appear on the negative side, for then he would adopt an argument against himself, and the candor he would display would demand confidence in return. Such being the fate that must attend the question were the fact contradicted by an Englishman, it is entitled to one directly opposite, if it be supported by an affirmative statement of a Frenchman. Thus posterity will doubtless judge; and as a very few ages will add all the inconveniencies arising out of a distance of time, to those which we in this age feel to arise out of distance of place, it will only be by a comparison of isolated facts, that our successors will be able to form any opinion of those events. Having pre-

mised thus much, no apology can be required for introducing a single fact, as stated by M. Denon, without any comment : that traveller was deeply interested in the expedition ; he was witness of the desolation which he relates : he was a Frenchman, and, in many instances, he is known to have put the most favourable construction upon the conduct of his countrymen ; so much so, that he could not think that they had been guilty of any crime in invading and pillaging these feeble tribes, without any previous cause of quarrel ! The statement of M. Denon is, " That the people on the banks of the Nile, supposing that the French could not long maintain a footing in Egypt, against their all-powerful masters, allowed the army to proceed without molestation ; but to ensure a peace with the beys, when they should again be conquerors, and from habits of depredation, they often attacked and fired at boats going up the river with supplies for the soldiers. A boat with a few troops was sent up, and received assurances of fidelity, and hostages for their behaviour. A vessel, which set off for Cairo, was missing ; and from the inhabitants themselves, it was, after some difficulty, discovered, that, being attacked a little above Fueh, or Fouah, the crew, all wounded, threw themselves into the river, and, having been forced on shore by the current, were made prisoners, and all of them shot at Salmia. An example was now necessary : 200 men were landed within a mile and a half of the village ; one party proceeded to turn it, a second marched by the edge of the river, while the third, stationed six miles below, completely surrounded it. A charge was made by the enemy's cavalry in front of the village, and repulsed by the bayonet : their leading men fell by the first volley of the French, when the others got into confusion. The cheik, and the few that survived, escaped, from the third detachment's having arrived too late to prevent their flight. Salmia was plundered the whole of the day ; and at night the flames, with the firing of cannon without intermission, gave to the surrounding country assurance of the certain destruction which such conduct would bring upon the inhabitants."

Previous to reaching Cairo Buonaparte learned that the two powerful chiefs, Murad Bey and Ibrahim Bey, were likely to annoy his army greatly, and many severities were

inflicted upon those Fellahs who were friendly to the Arabs, in order to deter them from strengthening the ranks of the beys. On the 19th, Murad Bey, at the head of 6,000 Mamelukes, and a host of Arabs and Fellahs, was entrenched at the village of Embaba, waiting for the French; and on the 22d, Desaix, whose corps formed the advanced guard, arrived within two miles of the spot. The heat was intense, and the soldiers excessively fatigued, which induced Buonaparte to halt. But the Mamelukes no sooner perceived the army than they formed upon the plain, in front of his right: an appearance so imposing never yet presented itself to the French; the cavalry of the Mamelukes were covered with resplendent armour. Beyond their left were beheld the celebrated pyramids, of which the imperishable mass has survived so many empires, and braved for more than thirty centuries the outrages of time! Behind their right was the Nile, the city of Cairo, the hills of Mokattam, and the fields of the ancient Memphis.

When Buonaparte had given his last orders, "Go," said he, pointing to the pyramids, "and think, that, from the heights of those monuments, forty ages survey our conduct." The army, impatient to come to action, was soon ranged in order of battle; the disposition of the forces was similar to that at the battle of Chebreisse. Buonaparte ordered the line to advance, but the Mamelukes, who till then appeared irresolute, prevented the execution of this movement; they made a feint against the centre, but rushed with impetuosity on the divisions of Desaix and Regnier, which formed the right: they intrepidly charged these columns, which, firm and immovable, reserved their fire until the enemy advanced within half musket shot; the ill-directed valour of the Mamelukes in vain endeavoured to break through those walls of fire and ramparts of bayonets; their ranks were thinned, a great number of killed and wounded remained on the field, and they soon retired in disorder, without venturing to return to the charge.

While the divisions of generals Desaix and Regnier so successfully repulsed the Mameluke cavalry, the divisions of Bon and Menou supported by that of Kleber, then under the command of general Dugua, advanced rapidly against the entrenched village of Embaba. Two battalions of the divisions of Bon and Menou were detached with orders to

turn the village, and, in the mean time, to take advantage of a deep ditch, that lay in the way, the better to defend themselves from the enemy's cavalry, and to conceal their movements towards the Nile. The divisions, preceded by their flank companies, rapidly advanced. The Mamelukes unsuccessfully attacked the platoons; they unmasked forty pieces of bad artillery, which they discharged upon them, but the divisions rushed forward with such impetuosity that the Mamelukes had not time to re-load their guns. The entrenchments were carried by the bayonet, and the camp, as well as the village of Embaba, were soon in the possession of the French. Fifteen hundred Mameluke cavalry, and an equal number of Fellahs, whose retreat were cut off by generals Marmont and Rampon, occupied an intrenched position in the rear of a ditch that communicated with the Nile, and in vain performed prodigies of valour in their defence; they were unwilling to surrender, and none of them escaped the sanguinary fury of the French soldiers; they were all either put to the sword or drowned in the Nile. Forty pieces of cannon, 400 camels, the baggage, and the stores, fell into the hands of the victors.

Murad Bey, seeing the village of Embaba carried, attended only to his retreat: the divisions of generals Desaix and Regnier had already compelled his cavalry to fall back: the army pursued the Mamelukes as far as Gaza, beyond which they continued their flight; and the French, after fighting, or marching and fighting nineteen hours, occupied a position at Gaza. Never was the superiority of modern European tactics over those of the Orientals, or disciplined courage over ill-directed valour more conspicuous, or more sensibly felt, than on that day. The Mamelukes were mounted on superb Arabian horses, richly caparisoned, their armour was magnificent, and their purses well stocked with gold; these spoils, in some degree, compensated the soldiers for the excessive fatigues they had undergone. During an interval of fifteen days, their only nourishment consisted of a few vegetables, without bread: the provisions found in the camp, therefore, afforded them a delicious repast.

The division of general Desaix was ordered to take a position in front of Gaza, and on the route of Faium. The division of Menou passed, during the night, a branch of the

Nile, and took possession of the isle of Roda. The enemy in their flight, burned those vessels which could not speedily re-ascend the Nile. The following morning, on the 23d of July, the principal inhabitants of Cairo, presented themselves on the banks of the Nile, and offered to deliver up the city to the French : they were accompanied by the kiaja of the pacha, Ibrahim Bey, who had abandoned Cairo during the night, having carried off the pacha with him. Buonaparte received them at Gaza ; they required protection for the city, and engaged for its submission ; he answered, that the wish of the French was to remain in amity with the Egyptian people and the Ottoman Porte, and assured them that the manners, the customs, and the religion of the country, should be scrupulously respected : they returned to Cairo, accompanied by a detachment under the command of a French officer. The populace took an advantage of the discomfiture and flight of the Mamelukes, and committed some excesses, the mansion of Murad Bey was pillaged and burned ; but it was contrary to the principles of Buonaparte to suffer other persons to plunder, and order was restored in consequence of the proclamations that he issued, and the appearance of an armed force.

On the 26th of July, Buonaparte removed his head-quarters to Cairo : the divisions of generals Regnier and Menou were stationed at Old Cairo, the divisions of Bon and Kleber at Boulac, a corps of observation was placed on the route of Syria, and the division of Desaix was ordered to occupy an entrenched position, about three leagues, in front of Embaba, on the route to Upper Egypt.

Whilst our recollection constantly suggests the immorality and dishonour of the expedition, it is impossible to withhold our admiration from the genius by which it was accomplished with such celerity and promptitude. Two months had barely elapsed between quitting the shores of France and the arrival at Cairo ; and in this short space two states had been subdued, in defiance of the most powerful navy in the world, and of a combination of physical obstacles, such as no numerous body of men had ever dared to encounter before.

Established in the apparently quiet possession of Cairo, Buonaparte prepared to send his dispatches to the commanders at Alexandria and to Paris ; and among the ridiculous

characters that have been assumed by this philosophical general, it is not the least, that after introducing himself to the people as the high priest of liberty, his first act in that office, was one of the most unblushing despotism that any unrestrained tyrant could have committed ; it was a material object with the general to transport the rarities of Egypt to the museum at Paris, and to gratify that passion, he ordered the Mamelukes, whom he had taken prisoners, to be transported in his first collection of natural curiosities to France.

Admiral Ganteaume's dispatch to the French directory, August, 1798, communicating the intelligence of the battle at Aboukir, is most truly descriptive of the general feelings of the officers of the French fleet upon that event ; and, notwithstanding the regret which is expressed, of the French admiral's having chosen the position wherein he awaited the reception of the English fleet, yet it was, probably, the best situation that he could have selected for the security of his own : it was neither excellence of position, inequality of force, or superiority of arrangement, that could have deterred the English commander from engaging the enemy. Nelson, the English admiral, considered that his duty was to find out the French fleet, and to *beat* it ; it was not an engagement with a probability of success that he calculated upon ; he had promised to himself a *victory*, and he, therefore, did not reckon on the chance of a defeat.—To him the glory would have been the same, whether he had destroyed the French fleet or perished in an unsuccessful action. Like Buonaparte, the grandeur of his object was his incitement to its attainment ; and like him when he had determined, he employed all the means he could exert to effect it :—Like Buonaparte, his means were arranged and combined with precision, and directed by his own energy and intrepidity. The quick discrimination of his judgment, his prompt decision, and the exalted daring of his mind ; every faculty of attention and of noble purpose ; every suggestion of his soul, and every pulsation of his heart ; all that his gallant spirit could conceive, command, or operate, and all that courage and valour could prompt ; all and every thing of the man and of his powers, were actively and individually directed to the execution of his design. This was the man who led the En-

glish fleet against the unfortunate Brueys; and, had he failed in his attack, it would not have been because he had merely endeavoured to drive the French fleet from the shores of Egypt, but because he purposed its entire destruction, and, therefore, projected such a bold manœuvre, as ordinary skill and bravery could not have devised, and would not have tried. His intrepidity was crowned by success; he snatched new and unfading laurels, where scarcely any other penetration could have discerned them, whence scarcely any other hand would have been stretched forth to reach them. What in other naval commanders would have been rashness to attempt, he achieved; and thus secured a most important victory for his country, and enrolled his own fame on the records of immortality.

At the time of this engagement, Tallien was at Rosetta, and, in a letter to Barras the director, he says, "Consternation has overwhelmed us all. I set out to-morrow for Cairo, to carry the news to Buonaparte: it will shock him so much the more, as he had not the least idea of its happening: he will, doubtless, find resources in himself, if not to repair a loss of such magnitude, at least to prevent the disaster becoming fatal to the army which he commands."

Desaix, who was charged to observe Murad, and to hold him in check, formed an entrenched camp, four leagues beyond Gaza, on the left bank of the Nile: his advanced posts and those of Murad Bey were very near each other. Ibrahim Bey retired to Belbeis, where he waited for the return of the caravan from Mecca, in order to be reinforced by the corps of Mamelukes that escorted it, with a view to execute an extensive plan of hostile operations, in conjunction with Murad Bey and the Arabs. From this arrangement, it is evident, that, whatever credit may be due to the charges brought by the French against the beys for mis-rule, they were not destitute of talents. Ibrahim made every exertion in his power to induce the Fellahs of the Delta, to take arms, and to incite the inhabitants of Cairo to revolt; Buonaparte, therefore, felt the necessity of organizing a provisional government, as well as of regulating every branch of the public service; he also wished, by placing his forces in entrenched positions, to secure the French from all surprise, either on the part of the Mamelukes or the inhabitants.

In the mean time, as the neighbourhood of Ibrahim Bey was highly dangerous, the general of brigade, Le Clerc, was dispatched from Cairo, on the 2d of August, with 300 cavalry, three companies of grenadiers, and a battalion, with two pieces of light artillery, and ordered to take a position at Elhanka, and to observe his motions. On the following day, the general was attacked by a body of 4,000 Mamelukes and Arabs, which a few discharges of artillery soon compelled to retire. Buonaparte now considered Ibrahim of so much consequence that he marched against him in person, but could not overtake him till he had been joined by the caravan, and increased his army from the Mamelukes, its escort. At Salehieh the French came up with the army of the bey, but could not prevent him reaching the desert with all his baggage and forces. Buonaparte now took measures for the fortification of Salehieh and Belbeis. The division of general Dugua, was ordered to proceed to Damietta, to take possession of it, and to subdue the Delta. General Regnier's division was posted at Salehieh, in order to secure the submission of the province of Cherkie, and Buonaparte took with him the rest of the troops to Cairo: it was on his return from this expedition that he received intelligence, and also the details of the naval action of Aboukir. What his private feelings were upon that event, has not yet transpired; but he managed very adroitly to collect the scattered hopes of his followers, by the turn which he gave to it in public, and which his dispatch to the directory will best serve to elucidate.

BUONAPARTE, *member of the national institute, general in chief, to the executive directory.*

Head-Quarters, Cairo, August 19.

“ CITIZEN DIRECTORS !

“ On the 6th of July I wrote to the admiral, to enter the port of Alexandria in twenty-four hours; and, if that was not practicable, to land immediately all the artillery and stores belonging to the army, and return to Corfu. I then left Alexandria, in the full assurance that in three days one of these measures would have been adopted. From that time, to the 24th of July, I received no intelligence whatever, either from Rosetta or Alexandria: a mul-

itude of Arabs, collecting from all parts of the desert, kept constantly within 500 toises of the camp.

“ On the 27th, at length, the report of our victories, and different positions, opened our communications. I received several letters from the admiral, when I learned, with astonishment, that he remained at Aboukir. I then wrote to him again, that he must not lose an hour, but either enter the port of Alexandria, or return to Corfu. The admiral had written to me on the 20th of July, that several English frigates had come to reconnoitre, and that he was fortifying himself in expectation of the enemy at Aboukir. This strange resolution filled me with the most lively alarms, but the time was lost; for the letter of the 20th did not reach me until the 30th of the same month. I dispatched citizen Julien, my aid-de-camp, with orders not to leave Aboukir until he had seen the squadron under sail. On the 26th, the admiral wrote to me that the squadron had retired, which measure he attributed to want of provisions. I received this letter on the 30th, by the same courier; the 29th he wrote to me that he had, at length, heard of the victory of the pyramids, and the taking of Cairo, and found a passage for entering the port of Alexandria; that letter I received the 1st of August. On the night of the 1st of August the English attacked him: on the moment he perceived the English squadron, he dispatched an officer to apprise me of his dispositions and plans; this officer perished on the road. It seemed to me, that admiral Brueys was unwilling to return to Corfu before he had ascertained the practicability of entering the port of Alexandria, and that the army, of which he had received no intelligence for a long time, was in a position, in which it would not be obliged to retreat: if, in this calamitous event, he was to blame, he has expiated his faults by a glorious death.

“ The destinies have been desirous to prove, on this occasion, as on so many others, that if they grant us a great preponderance on the continent, they have given the empire of the seas to our rivals; but, however great this reverse, it is not to be attributed to the fickleness of fortune. She has not abandoned us: far from it; she has favoured us in the whole expedition, in a degree surpassing all her former efforts. When I arrived before Alexandria, and

learned that the English had been there a few days before, notwithstanding the tempestuousness of the weather, I threw myself on the shore, at the risk of being wrecked. I remember at the moment when preparations were making for landing, there was a signal in the offing of an enemy's sail. (It was the *Justice* coming from Malta.) I exclaimed, "Fortune, would you abandon me? Only five days!" I marched all night: At break of day I attacked Alexandria with 3,000 harassed men, without cannon, and nearly without cartridges; and, in five days, I became master of Rosetta, of Demenhur; that is to say, I was already established in Egypt.

"For these five days was the squadron sheltered from the enemy, however great might be their number? Far from it: it remained exposed during the remainder of the month of July: it received from Rosetta, about the 20th of that month, a supply of rice for two months. The English were for ten days in these parts. On the 29th of July it received intelligence of our entire possession of Egypt, and our entry into Cairo; and it was only after fortune saw that all her favours were become of no further use that she abandoned our fleet to its destiny. I salute you.

(Signed)

BONAPARTE."

The illiberal policy of imputing this blame to the gallant Brueys, after his death, appears as unjust as it was ungenerous, if the statement of the admiral be true, that he detained the fleet "to gratify the wishes of the commander in chief." It was, perhaps, to atone for this paltry evasion, that Buonaparte was induced to write a letter of kindness and condolence to Madam Brueys.

"Your husband," said he, "was killed by a cannon ball in fighting nobly for his country: he died without suffering for a moment, and his death is envied by all good soldiers. I feel sincerely what you must suffer. The moment which separates us from the person whom we love is terrible; it insulates us from every thing around us, and causes convulsions of agony: the faculties of the soul are almost annihilated, and we hardly preserve any connexion with the world but in a dream. Men appear to us more cold, more selfish, more wicked, and more odious than they really are. We think in this situation, that if there was nothing which compelled us to live, it were better for us to die; but, after

these first emotions, when we press our infants to our breast, tears and sentiments of tenderness awaken nature within us, and we live again for our children. Yes, madam, let me advise you to see them instantly; let them soften your heart to the tender impressions of melancholy; you will weep over them, you will watch over their infancy and cultivate their youth; you will speak to them of their father, of your own sufferings, and of the loss which they and their country have sustained. After having thus re-attached yourself to the world by filial and maternal love, endeavour to set some value upon the lively interest which I shall never fail to take in all that concerns the widow of my friend. Be satisfied that there are at least some men in the world, how few soever they may be, who deserve to be considered as the only hope of the wretched, because they feel for their sufferings with sensibility.

BUONAPARTE."

2d Fructidor, 6th year.

Whatever might be the design of the general in undertaking the expedition to Egypt, its real tendency was to lead to a new opinion of his own character: he had hitherto been regarded as an able warrior, and the vices of the conqueror had been obscured by the valour of the soldier; but he seemed now to have entangled himself in a snare, from which he could only escape by practising all the arts of a cunning knave. The reflections he had cast upon Brueys placed him in this light to the people of Europe, and his conduct in Egypt made much the same impression upon his army there. A very curious specimen of his ability to conceal his views in a multitude of words is to be seen, in a conversation which he entered into with three of the muftis in the pyramids, and, which, though it displayed his ingenuity, served to elevate him as an object of fear rather than of affection.

Accompanied by his staff, and the members of the national institute, attended also by a powerful guard, and conducted by several muftis and imams, the general proceeded to the pyramids, where, after hastily surveying the five inferior ones, his attention was principally directed to that called "Cheops."

After examining the different apartments, he seated himself in a flattened vault, on a chest of granite, eight feet long and four feet deep, amongst his attendants, and invited the

mustis, imans, &c. to be also seated, when he commenced a conversation with Suluman, Ibrahim, and Muhamed, the chief mustis.

Buonaparte. God is great, and his works are marvellous; but we have here a grand production of the hand of man. What was the object of the individual who caused this pyramid to be constructed?

Suluman. He was a powerful king of Egypt, whose name, it is said, was Cheops; he wished to prevent the sacrilegious from troubling the repose of his ashes.

Buonaparte. The great Cyrus commanded, that, when dead, his body should be left in the open air, that it might return to the elements. Dost thou not think that he did better? Tell me, my friend, what is your opinion?

Suluman, (inclining himself) Glory to God! to whom all glory is due.

Buonaparte. Honour to Allah! Who was the calif who caused this pyramid to be opened, and troubled the ashes of the dead?

Muhamed. It is believed by some that it was Mahmoed, the commander of the faithful, who reigned several centuries at Bagdad; others say, it was the renowned Aaron Raschild, (peace to his manes!) who expected to find treasures there; but when, by his command, entrance was made into this apartment, tradition says, that he found mummies only, and this inscription written on the wall:—*The impious shall commit iniquity without recompense, but not without remorse.*

Buonaparte. The bread stolen by the wicked fills his mouth with sand.

Muhamed, (inclining himself.) These are the words of wisdom.

Buonaparte. Glory to Allah! there is no other God but God, Mahomet is his prophet, and I am his friend.

Suluman. The salutation of peace to the envoy of God! Salutation to thee also, invincible warrior, favourite of Mahomet!

Buonaparte. Mufti, I thank thee: the divine Koran is the delight of my soul, and the object of my contemplation. I love the prophet, and I hope ere long to see and honour his tomb in the holy city; but my mission is first to exterminate the Mamelukes.

Ibrahim. May the angels of victory sweep the dust from

thy path, and cover thee with their wings! the Mameluke has merited death.

Buonaparte. He has been smote and delivered over to the black angels, Moukir and Quakir. God, on whom all things depend, has ordained that his dominions shall be destroyed.

Suluman. He has extended the hand of rapine over the land, the harvests, and the horses, of Egypt.

Buonaparte. And over the *most beautiful* slaves, thrice, holy mufti! Allah has withered his hand: if Egypt is his portion, let him shew the lease which God has given him of it; but God is just and merciful to his people.

Ibrahim. O most valiant among the children of Issa! (Jesus Christ) Allah has caused thee to follow the exterminating angel to deliver his land of Egypt.

Buonaparte. This land was a prey to twenty-four oppressors, (rebels against the grand sultan, our ally, whom God turn to his glory,) and to ten thousand slaves, from Candia and Georgia. Adriel, the angel of death, has breathed upon them; we are come, and they have disappeared!

Muhamed. Noble successor of Isander! (Alexander) honour to thy invincible arms, and to the unexpected thunder which springs from thy warriors on horse.

Buonaparte. Dost thou believe thunder to be the work of the children of men? Dost thou believe so? Allah has placed it in my hands, by his messenger, the genius of war.

Ibrahim. We perceive in thy works the great Allah, who has sent thee: couldst thou have conquered, if Allah had not permitted? The Delta, and all the neighbouring countries, resound with thy miracles.

Buonaparte. A celestial car will ascend, by my command, to the abode of the clouds, and the lightning will descend to the earth, along a metallic wire,* the moment I shall bid it.

Suluman. And the great serpent, which sprang from the base of the pillar of Pompey, on the day of thy triumphant entry in Scanderish, and which remained withered at the socket of the pillar, was that not also a prodigy effected by thy hand?

Buonaparte. Lights of the age! you are destined to see

* This sublime quackery means nothing more, in intelligent language, than an air balloon, and an electric conductor!

yet greater wonders than these ; for the days of regeneration are come.

Ibrahim. May the divine unity regard thee with the eye of predilection, adorer of *Issa* ! and render thee the support of the children of the Prophet.

Buonaparte. Has not Mahomet said, that every man who adores God, and performs good works, whatever may be his religion, shall be saved ?

Suluman, Muhamed, Ibrahim, (inclining themselves.) He has said so.

Buonaparte. And, if, by an order from on high, I have moderated the pride of the vicar of *Issa* (the pope) by diminishing his terrestrial possessions, in order to amass for him celestial treasures, was it rendering glory to God, whose mercy is infinite ?

Muhamed, (with an air of hesitation.) The mufti of Rome was rich and powerful, we are poor muftis.

Buonaparte. I know that you are poor ; be without apprehension, for you have been weighed in the balance of Balthazar, and, you have been found light. Does this pyramid, then, really contain no treasure that you know of ?

Suluman, (his hands on his breast.) None, my lord ! we swear by the holy city of Mecca.

Buonaparte. Unhappy, thrice unhappy ! those who seek for perishable riches, and covet gold and silver, which are like unto dust !

Suluman. Thou hast spared the vicar of *Issa*, and hast treated him with clemency and goodness.

Buonaparte. He is an old man whom I honour. May God accomplish, when they shall be regulated by reason and truth : but he is to blame in condemning to eternal fire all the Mussulmen. Allah defend us from intolerance !

Ibrahim. Glory to Allah, and to his prophet ! who has sent thee into the midst of us to rekindle the faith of the weak, and to open to the faithful the gates of the seventh heaven.

Buonaparte. You have spoken my wishes, most zealous muftis ! be faithful to Allah, the sovereign ruler of the seven marvellous heavens, and to Mahomet, his vizir, who traversed all the celestial mansions in a single night. Be the friends of the Franks, and Allah, Mahomet, and the Franks, will recompense you.

Ibrahim. May the prophet himself cause thee to sit at his left hand, on the day of the resurrection, after the third sound of the trumpet.

Buonaparte. "He that hath ears to hear let him hear!" The hour of political resurrection has arrived for all who groan under oppression. Muftis, imans, mullahs, dervises, and kalenders! instruct the people of Egypt, encourage them to join in our labours, to complete the destruction of the beys and the Mamelukes: favour the commerce of the Franks in your country, and their endeavours to arrive at the ancient land of Brama. Let them have storehouses in your ports, and drive far from you the islanders of Albion, accursed among the children of Issa! such is the will of Mahomet. The treasures, industry and friendship of the Franks shall be your lot, till you ascend to the seventh heaven, and are seated by the side of the black-eyed houris, who are endowed with perpetual youth and virginity. Repose under the shade of Laba, whose branches present of themselves to true Musselmen whatever their hearts may desire.

Suluman, (inclining himself.) Thou hast spoken like the most learned of the mullahs. We place faith in thy words: we will serve thy cause, and God *hears us*.

Buonaparte. God is great, and his works are marvellous: the salutation of peace be upon you, **THRICE HOLY MUFTIS!**

The reader will hardly discover any thing in this bombastic chit-chat, but a contest between cunning and craft; yet it is pretty evident that the design of the general was to out-wit the priests, but he failed in the attempt.

Buonaparte having established his head-quarters at Cairo, Desaix was ordered to pursue Murad Bey, and complete the conquest of Upper Egypt, where Murad had taken refuge after the battle of the pyramids. On the 25th of August he struck his camp before Cairo, and set out, together with a flotilla, which was to convoy his march.

On his return to Suez Buonaparte learned that Dgezzar had taken possession of the fort of El-Arish, which defended the frontiers of Egypt; this fortress, situated about two days journey from Cathieh, and ten leagues within the desert, was occupied by the advanced guard of the pacha. Certain of being attacked, no other alternative remained to Buonaparte than that of an anticipation of farther hostilities.

He quitted Suez immediately, but, previous to his coming to Cairo, he proceeded to Salehieh, near which were cantoned the troops destined to form the advanced guard of the expedition to Syria; these he ordered to march without delay: he then proceeded with the utmost expedition to Cairo, where he exerted the greatest celerity in the preparations, and in collecting the main body of the army, for the expedition to Syria.

CHAPTER XIII.

THOSE who have admired the enterprising spirit of Alexander, the retreat of the ten thousand under Xenophon, and the fortitude of Charles the twelfth, will not regard the valourous struggles of the republican generals wholly unworthy of praise. Buonaparte was ignorant of the state of affairs in Europe, owing to the rigour with which the English blockaded the mouths of the Nile, and prevented any intelligence passing either in or out of Egypt. He assigned a considerable reinforcement, under Davoust, to general Desaix, who had proceeded into Upper Egypt, with orders to drive the Mamelukes beyond the cataracts of the Nile, and then ordered the departure of his own army. This force consisted of the divisions of general Kleber, who had under his command generals Verdier and Junot, a part of two demi-brigades of light infantry, and of the 25th and 75th of the line; of the division of general Regnier, who had under his orders general Legrange, with the 9th and the 85th demi-brigade of the line; of the division of general Lasne, who had under his direction generals Vaux, Robin, and Rambeau, with a party of the 22d demi-brigade of light infantry and of the 13th and 69th of the line; of the division of general Bon, under whose orders were placed Rampon and Vial, with a part of the 4th demi-brigade of light infantry, and of the 18th and 22d demi-brigades of the line; of the division of general Murat, with 900 cavalry, accompanied by four light four pounders. The artillery was commanded by general Daumartin and the engineers by general Caffarelli; the park of artillery consisted of four twelve pounders, three eight

pounders, five howitzers, and three five inch mortars ; there were, besides, attached to each division two eight pounders, two six inch howitzers, and two three pounders. To the guide parties, cavalry and infantry, were allotted four eight pounders and two six inch howitzers. The different corps constituted an army of about 10,000 men.

Buonaparte ordered the adjutant-general Almeyrac, to whom the command of Damietta was entrusted, to expedite the fortifications of that place, and to transport without delay the stores and provisions across the lake Menzale to the port of Tineth, whence they were to be forwarded to the magazines at Cathieh, a march of about five hours. Some pieces of battering cannon were necessary for the reduction of Acre, in case of resistance ; to bring them by the way of the desert was impracticable ; they were ordered to be put on board a squadron of four frigates, under the command of Perree, which lay at anchor in the road of Alexandria, and conveyed by sea, in defiance of the English cruizers : this was a hazardous project, but nothing more would be lost by the fleet being taken to England now, than if it lay in port till the enemy might capture it there.

Buonaparte ordered the admiral to cruise off Jaffa, and to keep up a communication with the army ; he calculated upon their arrival within a given time. The utmost diligence was used at Cairo in collecting the necessary number of camels and mules for conveying the field artillery, the stores, ammunition, &c. necessary for the passage of an army through the desert.

General Kleber was ordered to embark with his division at Damietta, the French being then complete masters of the navigation of lake Menzale, and to proceed across the lake to Tineth, and from thence to march to Cathieh, where he was expected to arrive on the 4th of February. General Regnier quitted Belbeis, with his etat-major, on the 23d of January, 1799, and arrived at Cathieh on the 4th of February, where he joined his advanced guard ; the 6th he marched for El-Arish, which, together with the fort, was occupied by about 2,000 troops of the pacha of Acre : general Legrange, with two pieces of cannon, formed the advanced guard of general Regnier's division. On the 8th of February, when approaching the fountains of Messondiat, he

perceived a party of Mamelukes, but these were soon dispersed. He arrived in the evening at a grove of palm-trees, near the sea and fronting El-Arish; the next day he advanced rapidly, and took possession of some sand-hills, which commanded El-Arish; on these heights he took a position and planted his artillery. The operations were speedily commenced: general Regnier caused the charge to be beat, when the advanced guard advanced rapidly on the right and left of the village, which was attacked by Regnier himself in front. Notwithstanding the advantageous position of the enemy, in a village situated in the form of an amphitheatre, in which are a few houses built with stone and covered by the fort; notwithstanding a most obstinate resistance and a galling fire, the village was carried by the bayonet, the enemy retired into the fort, and barricadoed the doors with so much precipitation, as to exclude about 300 men, who were either killed or taken prisoners. General Regnier, on the same evening, blockaded the fort of El-Arish; soon after a corps of cavalry and infantry were discovered on the route from Gaza, which were escorting a convoy of provisions for El-Arish; this reinforcement continually increased till the 13th of February, when the Mamelukes emboldened by the superiority of their cavalry, advanced, and pitched their tents within half a league of El-Arish, on a plain covered by a very steep ravine, where they considered themselves safe from attack.

In the night between the 14th and 15th of February, a party of general Regnier's division turned the ravine which covered the encampment of the Mamelukes, rushed into the camp, killed a great many, took a considerable number of camels, horses, and prisoners, beside great quantities of provisions and warlike stores, together with the field equipages of the Mamelukes.

On the 18th of February the army took a position before El-Arish, on the sand-hills between the village and the sea: Buonaparte ordered one of the towers of the fort to be cannonaded, and, as soon as a breach was effected, the place was summoned to surrender. The garrison consisted of Arnauts, Maugrabins, &c. all barbarians, destitute of regular chiefs, and ignorant of the principles or usages of war as carried on between civilized nations. The besieged continued, alternately, to fire and parley; at length, on the

20th of February, the garrison, consisting of 1,600 men, surrendered, and laid down their arms, on the sole condition of their being allowed to retire to Bagdad across the desert: a number of the Maugrabins entered into the French service. In the fort were only found about 250 horses, two dismounted pieces of artillery, and provisions for a few days. Buonaparte sent to Cairo the standards taken and the Mameluke prisoners.

On the 23d the head-quarters were removed from El-Arish and destined for Kan-jouness; the general in chief, the staff, &c. arrived upon the heights near that place without receiving any intelligence of general Kleber's division. Buonaparte dispatched some of his escort to the village; no French troops had arrived there: some Mamelukes, who were in the place, fled to the camp of Abdallah Pacha, which was then at the distance of about a league, on the route to Gaza. Buonaparte having only a piquet for his escort, and convinced that Kleber's division must have been misled, fell back towards Santon, three leagues from Kan-jouness, in the desert. He there found the advanced guard of the cavalry; the guides, it appeared, had led general Kleber astray in the desert; but he stopped some Arabs, and compelled them to point out the right road, from which he had been misled nearly a day's march. His division arrived on the 24th, at eight o'clock in the morning, after a distressing march of forty-eight hours, during which he was without water! The divisions of generals Bon and Lasne, who had followed the same route, were also led astray for some time: these three divisions, which, according to orders, should have arrived and moved on successively, thus arriving at Santon nearly at the same time, the wells were soon exhausted. With a laborious perseverance, the soldiers, who were tormented by a burning thirst, sunk wells in various places, but could only obtain a very partial and inadequate supply of water. The division of general Regnier was ordered to remain at El-Arish, for the purpose of putting the fort, which is the key of Egypt on the side of Syria, into a respectable state of defence, after the prisoners of war had evacuated it, and also to wait until the field artillery should advance. This division was to form the rear guard of the army at an interval of two days' march. About a league in front of the village of Kan-jouness

are several columns of granite, and fragments of marble spars, which, at first sight, were imagined to be the remains of an ancient monument; but, as the wells of Reffat lie at the distance of a few toises, are very neatly built, and afford abundance of good water, it is more probable that these ruins are the remains of a caravansera, at which the caravans were accustomed to halt, in order to take in water for their journey across the desert which separates Syria from Egypt. The army had traversed sixty leagues of an arid and barren desert; for the habitations at Cathieh and El-Arish are chiefly clay huts, with a few palm-trees near the wells; its entrance, therefore, into the plains of Gaza, and the prospect of the mountains of Syria was highly gratifying. At the approach of the army, Abdallah, who was encamped with his infantry, and the Mameluke corps, within a league of Kan-jouness, had quitted that station, and fell back towards Gaza.

On the 25th of February, the army marched from Kan-jouness towards Gaza; about two leagues from that town a body of the Mameluke's cavalry was perceived upon the heights. Buonaparte immediately formed each of the divisions into a square; that of general Kleber formed the left, and was ordered to march against Gaza, on the right of the enemy; the division of general Bon occupied the centre, and advanced towards its front; the right was formed of the division of general Lasne, which marched towards the heights, and turned the positions which Abdallah occupied. General Murat, with the cavalry, and six pieces of cannon, marched in front of the infantry, and prepared to charge the enemy. At his approach, the cavalry of Abdallah made several irregular movements, and their confusion was manifest; at one time they suddenly advanced and seemed willing to charge; they, however, immediately made a retrograde movement. General Murat pushed forward, but failed in bringing the enemy to action; a party of their riflemen, however, were intercepted by general Kleber's division, by whom twenty-one were killed.

The army advanced about a league beyond Gaza, having established head-quarters in the town. The fort is of a circular form, about forty toises in diameter, and flanked with towers. It contained 16,000 lbs. of powder, a great quantity of cartridges and other warlike stores, together with

several pieces of cannon. In the town were also found about 100,000 rations of biscuits, some rice, a number of tents, and a great quantity of barley. The inhabitants having sent deputies to meet the French, were treated as friends. The army remained the 26th and 27th in this quarter. Buonaparte employed himself, during that interval, in organizing a system of civil and military government for the town and district; he formed a divan, consisting of the principal Turkish inhabitants of the place. On the 28th the army advanced towards Jaffa, where the Mamelukes and Turks were collecting their forces. The escorts of provisions and ammunition, forwarded from the magazines at Cathieh, were at this time several days march in the rear of the army; but the stores which had been abandoned at Gaza, enabled the army to advance.

The desert, which lies between Gaza and Jaffa, is an immense plain, on which are moving sand-hills, that render the march of cavalry a work of great difficulty. The camels advanced slowly, and with pain; and the army was obliged, in the space of about three leagues, to change the artillery horses three times. On the 1st of March the army rested at Ezdoud, and the second at Ramieh, a town inhabited for the greater part by christians; a quantity of biscuit was found there, which the enemy had not time to remove, and nearly as much was found at the village of Lidda. The hordes of Arabs, who hovered about these villages, for purposes of plunder, took flight on the approach of the French; the advanced guard which consisted of general Kleber's division, arrived before Jaffa; the enemy, on his approach, retired into the body of the place. The other divisions and the cavalry arrived soon after. General Kleber's division and the cavalry were ordered to occupy a position on the river Lahoya, about two leagues on the route to Acre, for the purpose of covering the siege of Jaffa. The town was invested by the divisions of generals Bon and Lasne.

Jaffa is surrounded by a wall, but destitute of a fosse; it is flanked by towers, in good condition, on which cannon were mounted. Towards the sea are erected two forts, which command the port and road. The point of attack fixed on, was to the south of the town, against the highest and strongest part of the works. In the night between the 4th and 5th the trenches were opened, a battery in breach

was constructed, and two counter batteries, against the square tower, the most commanding part of the whole front of attack. A battery was also erected to the north of the place, in order to effect a diversion. The whole of the 5th and 6th were employed in advancing and completing the works. The Mamelukes made two sorties, but were driven back with considerable loss.

On the 6th, at day-break, the cannonade commenced, and at four o'clock the breach made was deemed practicable. An assault was ordered. The besieged, at different times, made great efforts; but, a breach being effected, the division of general Lasne drove them from roof to roof, and from street to street; and, in a short time, gained possession of two forts. The division of general Bon, which had been engaged in making false attacks, now entered the town near the port. The garrison continued to defend themselves desperately, and, refusing to lay down their arms, were put to the sword; it consisted of about 12,000 Turkish gunners, about 2,500 Maugrabins or Arnauts. Three hundred Egyptians who had surrendered, were sent to Egypt. The loss of the French army was inconsiderable.

When the French became masters of the town and forts, the command of the place was given to general Robin, who succeeded in extinguishing those disorders which naturally follow an assault, especially when obstinately resisted. The inhabitants were protected as far as it suited the purposes of the conquerors; they returned to their respective habitations, and on the 7th order was restored. In the place was found the field train sent to Dgezzar Pacha, by the grand seignior, which consisted of 40 pieces of artillery, cannon, or large howitzers; and 21 guns, brass or iron. In the port were 15 small trading vessels. Buonaparte gave the necessary orders for putting the town and fort in a proper state of defence; and also for establishing an hospital and magazines. He constituted a divan, consisting of the most distinguished Turks of the place; and sent orders to the admiral, Perree, to sail immediately from Alexandria, with the three frigates, and to repair to Jaffa. This port was intended to be the depot of every article that should be received from Alexandria and Damietta. As the place was rather exposed to descents and incursions, Buonaparte en-

trusted the command to the adjutant-general Gressier, an officer distinguished by his talents and bravery ; but he soon died there, of the plague.

On the 15th of March general Kleber was encamped at Misky, in front of the position which he had taken for the purpose of covering the siege of Jaffa. The divisions of generals Bon and Lasne, as well as the head-quarters, removed from Jaffa and joined the advanced guard at Misky ; the army marching onward to Zeta, the advanced guard observed a corps of cavalry. Abdallah Pacha, it appeared, had taken a position, with 2,000 cavalry, on the heights of Korsum, having on his left a body of about 10,000 Turks, who occupied a more elevated situation. The object of the pacha was to check the progress of the army, and, by taking a position on its flank, to force it to an action among the mountains and defiles of Naplouze, for the purpose of retarding its march to Acre. The divisions of generals Bon and Kleber were immediately formed in squares, and advanced against the cavalry, who fled from the contest. General Lasne's division was ordered to march towards the right of Abdallah's force, for the purpose of intercepting its communication with the rest, and compelling him to retreat at once either to Acre or Damascus. This division, borne away by its ardour, pursued the pacha into the heart of the mountains and defiles, and attacked the Naplouzian force with such vigour as to put it entirely to flight ; the light infantry pursued with alacrity so far in front as to oblige the general to send them repeated orders to desist from a pursuit attended with no advantage ; they, at length, obeyed, and the Naplouzians, regarding this retrograde movement as a retreat, pursued in their turn, the light infantry ; being acquainted with the defiles and advantageous situations among the mountains, they fired upon the French with great effect. The division endeavoured in vain to draw the Naplouzians from the mountains.

On the 15th the French lay all night under arms, near the tower of Zeta. The 16th of March the division of general Kleber advanced to Caiffa, which was abandoned on his approach ; about 20,000 rations of biscuit, and an equal quantity of rice was found in the place. Caiffa is surrounded by strong walls, flanked by towers ; a castle defends the road and port ; a tower built with embrasures and

embattled, commands the town at the distance of 150 toises, but the whole is overlooked by the heights of Mount Carmel. The Mamelukes when they evacuated it, carried off the artillery, and all the military stores. The French left a garrison in the castle, and on the 17th proceeded towards St. John d'Acre. The roads were in very bad condition, and the weather foggy, so that it was very late when they arrived at the entrance of the river which runs at the distance of 1,500 toises from the place, through marshy grounds. The passage was dangerous to attempt during the night, as the cavalry and infantry, on the opposite bank, appeared in great force. General Andreossy was, notwithstanding, dispatched to examine the fords; he passed with the second battalion of the fourth light infantry, and took possession, at night-fall, of an eminence overlooking an entrenched camp. Bessiere, *chef de brigade*, with a party of the guides, and two pieces of artillery, took a position between the works and the river Acre.

During the night a bridge was constructed, over which the army passed the river at day-break, on the 18th. Buonaparte immediately led the army to an eminence which commanded St John d'Acre, at the distance of 1,000 toises. Parties of the Turks still kept their ground without the place, in the gardens with which it is surrounded; but they were so briskly attacked, that they soon retired within the works.

The English had appointed that enterprising naval commander, sir W. Sydney Smith, minister to the porte, and he had arrived at Constantinople early in January. The plan of the Syrian campaign had been concerted between that officer and the Turkish government, and the British forces were ready to co-operate with the pacha of Acre at the time that Buonaparte reached that place. The English force was, comparatively, small, but it served to encourage the troops of the pacha; and it was now that the French general first experienced an opposition that the combined energies of his power and talents were incapable of surmounting. The republicans were not aware that any naval preparations had been made, and they took up their ground so near to the water side, that sir Sydney, who had witnessed their approach by the foot of Mount Carmel, saluted

them by a galling fire from his boats, which obliged them to retire with precipitation,

The French took a position on an insulated eminence, commanding to the east a plain, about a league and three quarters in length, terminated by the mountains that lie between Acre and the river Jordan. The provisions found in the magazines at Caiffa, and in the villages of Cheif-Amrs and Nazareth, were made use of for the subsistence of the army; the mills at Tanoux and Kerdanne were employed in grinding the corn: the army had eaten no bread since they left Cairo.

Buonaparte, in order to keep open the route to Damascus, garrisoned the castles of Saffet, Nazareth, and Cheif-Amrs. Generals Dammartin and Caffarelli reconnoitred the fortress, and it was determined to attack the front of the salient angle to the eastward: Samson, chief-de-brigade of the engineers, was wounded by a ball in the hand while reconnoitring the counterscarp. On the 20th the trenches were opened, and advantage was taken of the garden enclosures, the fosse of the old town, and an aqueduct that crossed the glacis, in their formation. A blockade was established to repulse sorties with advantage, and to intercept all communication: the French laboured incessantly at the erection of batteries *en breche* and cross batteries; but they received no intelligence of the battering cannon, that had been shipped at Alexandria.

A curious variation in the accounts given of the commencement of these operations, by the French and English commanders, gives rise to a train of reflections, by no means calculated to increase confidence in the statements of naval and military men. Sir Sydney says, that, as the French fired upon his boats with musketry, he judged that they had no cannon with them, and, of course, that they were to be expected by sea; he, therefore detached a part of his squadron to Jaffa to look out for them, and was fortunate enough to reach that place just as they hove in sight. It was in vain that this flotilla endeavoured to escape; seven vessels, containing all the ammunition, platforms, and battering train of artillery, were captured; and only three small vessels got away, which contained Buonaparte's private property: those prizes were manned and employed in raking the coast and distressing the enemy by land. This

advantage, so important in its consequences, was achieved with very little loss, and was doubly mischievous to Buonaparte, as he was not immediately acquainted with it; and, while he continued in expectation of his train, a sufficient force arrived to render the whole project abortive. Of this circumstance general Berthier, who writes an account of the siege, gives a very different relation.

“The commander of the English squadron,” says he, “being informed that a great quantity of stores and provisions were collected at Caiffa, formed the design of seizing them, and, at the same time, capturing several vessels that had recently arrived there from Java, with provisions for the army. The command at Caiffa was provisionally, intrusted to Lambert, *chef-d’escadron*, a distinguished officer. On the 22d a smart cannonade was heard in the camp before Acre, in the direction at Caiffa: we were soon informed, that several English sloops of war, armed with 32-pound carronades, had attacked Caiffa, and attempted to seize the transport vessels that lay in the port; that the *chef-d’escadron*, Lambert, had given orders to suffer the English to approach very near to land without any shew of opposition; but that he had concealed a howitzer, and placed in ambuscade sixty men, who composed his garrison; and, that, at the very moment the enemy were on the point of landing, he fell upon them, at the head of his brave men, boarded and took possession of one of their sloops, and also a 32-pounder, and made 17 prisoners: finally, that the fire from his howitzer was directed against the other sloops with so much success, that they, shortly, took to flight, having more than 100 men killed or wounded. The English commodore, thus repulsed, abandoned his design against Caiffa, and, soon after, came to an anchor before Acre.”

These kind of mistatements, we fear, are too common: and, if we accept the narrative of Sir Sydney, as more entitled to credit in this instance, it is, because the French officers have sported with their reputation so much, in their details of this expedition, that they have forfeited all claim to belief!

The siege commenced on the 26th of March: the Turks made a sortie, but were repulsed with loss; the batteries in breach and the cross batteries were completed. On the

28th field-pieces only were used to batter the tower in the line of attack. About three in the evening a breach was made ; at the same time a mine, which was pushed under the counterscarp, was sprung, which did little execution. The breach was deemed as practicable as that of Jaffa ; but the French grenadiers had not advanced far when their course was arrested by a fosse, 15 feet deep, connected with a good counterscarp. The fire from the place was terrible : the adjutants-general, Escale and Lagnier were killed. An impulse of terror, for a moment, unaccountably, affected a number of the Turks ; they fled towards the port, but soon rallied and returned to the breach, which the French grenadiers in vain attempted to mount, its height being near ten feet above the rubbish. This circumstance afforded the pacha time to rally his forces and to ascend to the parapet of the tower, whence they showered down stones, grenades, and combustible materials, upon the assailants. A platoon of French grenadiers, who arrived near the foot of the breach, were unable to advance and obliged to return to the trenches.

The taking of Jaffa inspired the French army with a degree of confidence that induced them to regard the works at Acre as of little importance ; they seemed to consider as an ordinary field operation, a siege which required all the resources of the military art ; the more so, as they were destitute of the artillery and the ammunition necessary for the attack of a place surrounded by a wall, flanked by strong towers, and environed by a fosse, with a scarp and counterscarp. The besieged, elated at the effect of their resistance, made, on the 30th, a spirited sortie, but were repulsed, and forced to retire within their walls.

On the first of April a frigate anchored in the road of Caiffa. The *chef d'escadron*, Lambert, knew the flag to be Turkish : he prevented his men from appearing : the frigate, ignorant that Caiffa was in the hands of the French, sent her longboat on shore, with the officer second in command, and 20 men ; they landed with composure, but Lambert surrounded them with his soldiers and made them prisoners.

The British ships had been driven from Acre by a storm, which occasioned the Turks to be left, for some days, alone in the combat : it happened fortunately for them, that pre-

vious arrangements laid Buonaparte under the necessity of drawing off a great part of his force about the same time.

Dgezzar had sent his emissaries among the Naplouzians, and to the cities of Sidom, Damascus, and Aleppo; and, with them, considerable sums of money, to induce all the Mussulmen in those parts, who were capable of bearing arms, to rise *en masse*, for the purpose, as expressed in the firmans, of combatting the infidels. This measure produced a considerable effect; large bodies of troops were assembling at Damascus, and magazines were establishing at the fort of Tabarie, which was occupied by the Maugrabins. In expectation of these forces, Dgezzar caused frequent sorties to be made, during the first days of the siege, which the French supposed to be with a view of facilitating the entry of those forces: Buonaparte, therefore, was anxious to effect a breach before their arrival. He ordered that a lodgment in the tower, wherein a breach had been made, should be attempted; but the Turks had filled the breach in such a manner with sandbags, timber, and bales of cotton, that the effort was impracticable; and, for want of some battering cannon, and sufficient stock of ammunition, he was unable to commence a new attack. In the mean time he laboured to establish a mine under the tower, to blow it up, which would have laid open the place. This was an undertaking of great importance; but the Turks made frequent sorties, and hindered the operation.

It was now evident that the place could not be taken by a *coup de main*; and Buonaparte saw that he must use his endeavours to prevent the reinforcements reaching the town. General Vial was dispatched to Tyre, where the inhabitants had armed in favour of the pacha; with orders to make himself master of the place. He arrived, after a march of eleven hours, through roads impassable to artillery, and discovered, on entering the plain, the vestiges of an ancient fortress, and of two temples. At the approach of his force, the inhabitants were alarmed, and took to flight: he, however, quieted their apprehensions, by promising to protect them; and, having left a garrison of 200 men to guard the place, he quitted Tyre on the 5th of April.

Buonaparte was informed by some christians from Damascus, that a considerable force, composed of Mamelukes, Janizaries of Damascus, Deletians, Allepins, and Maugra-

bins, was preparing to pass the Jordan, in order to join the Arabs and Naplouzians, and to attack the French before Acre, at the same time that Dgezzar should make a grand sortie, supported by the fire of the English vessels; he was also informed, that some troops had passed the bridge of Jacob on the Jordan. The officer who commanded the advanced posts at Nazareth, sent intelligence that another column had passed the bridge called Jesre-el-Meckanie, and had advanced to Tabarie; that the Arabs appeared in great numbers at the entrance of the mountains of Naplouze, and that Tabarie and Jenin had received considerable supplies of provisions.

The general of brigade Junot, was sent to observe their motions; he learned that the Mahomedans were assembling in considerable numbers on the heights of Loubi, about four leagues from Nazareth, in the direction of Tabarie, and that some of them had advanced to the village of Loubi. He marched, with a part of the second light infantry, three companies of the 19th, consisting of about 350 men, and a detachment of 160 cavalry, drafted from different corps, for the purpose of reconnoitring. At a short distance from Ghasar-Kana, he perceived the enemy, on an eminence near Loubi; he pursued his march, turned the mountain, and found himself surrounded in an adjoining plain, by a body of about 3,000 cavalry. The most intrepid of these rushed upon his force, and obliged him to give the most striking examples of courage to his soldiers, who shewed themselves worthy of their intrepid leader, and dispersed the assailants. General Junot, with his little force, gradually gained the heights near Nazareth, on which route he fought for the space of two leagues. This affair cost the French 60 men; which was a more serious loss to them than the 600 killed of the natives was to the Turks.

Buonaparte, on receiving intelligence of this engagement, ordered general Kleber to set out from the camp before Acre with the remainder of the advanced guard, in order to join general Junot at Nazareth. He repaired to Nazareth for a supply of provisions, and being informed that the enemy had not quitted their position near Loubi, he determined to march against, and to attack them the next day, the 22d Germinal. He had scarcely reached the heights of Sed-Jara, a quarter of a league from Loubi, and a league

and a half from Kana, when the enemy descended from their elevated position, and rushed into the plain. General Kleber was immediately surrounded by a body of nearly 4,000 cavalry, and five or six hundred foot, who prepared to charge him; this the general anticipated by attacking the cavalry, and, at the same time, directing a part of his force against the enemy's camp, near Sed-Jara, which he carried; the enemy abandoned the field of battle, and retreated in disorder towards the Jordan, whither he could not pursue them for want of ammunition. The French then returned to the positions of Safarie, and of Nazareth, but were not long suffered to remain quiet, as the hordes lately defeated were joined by an immense body of Samaritans, or Naplouzians. The entire force, according to general Kleber's accounts, was between fifteen and eighteen thousand men; but the exaggerated statements of the inhabitants of the country increased their numbers to forty or fifty thousand. Buonaparte learned, also, that the country all around was rising to attack the posts which he had stationed in the wilderness, and determined that a decisive battle should be fought, with a view of effectually subduing a multitude, who, taking advantage of their numbers, harassed him with a desultory warfare, almost to the verge of his camp. He thought that if once routed, those people, who were under no necessity of fighting, would place little reliance on the assurances of Dgezzar; and that by the terror of his arms he should convert many of them into friends. He was fully aware of the disadvantages which would attend an action near his position before Acre; he, therefore, gave orders for making the necessary dispositions for the attack at a distance, and to force them to repossess the Jordan. The route from Damascus in crossing the Jordan, is, either on the right of the lake of Tabarie, by the bridge of Jacob, at three leagues distance from which is situated the castle of Saffet; or, on the left of that lake, by the bridge of El-Meckanie, a short distance from the fort of Tabaric. These two fortresses are to the right of the Jordan.

General Murat marched from the camp before Acre with 1,000 infantry, and a regiment of cavalry. He was ordered to proceed with all possible expedition to the bridge of Jacob, of which he was to take possession, in order to attack in the rear the force that invested Saffet, and after-

wards to join as soon as practicable, the troops under general Kleber, who was greatly in want of reinforcements; that officer, having intimated his intentions of turning the enemy's positions at Fouli and Tabarie, and to endeavour to to surprise them by night in their camps.

Buonaparte left the siege of Acre to the generals Regnier and Lasne, and set out from the camp, with the remainder of the cavalry, the division of general Bon, and eight field pieces; he took a position on the heights of Safarie, where the troops were all night under arms. He marched towards Fouli, through the defiles which branched among the mountains, and arrived at the heights, from whence Fouli and Mount Tabor can be seen; he perceived, at the distance of about thrée leagues, the division of general Kleber actually engaged with the enemy, whose force appeared to be about 25,000, all cavalry, and surrounding the French troops, who did not exceed 2,000. Buonaparte formed his force into three squares, one of which was cavalry, and prepared for turning the enemy at a considerable distance, in order to separate them from the camp, cut off their retreat to Jenin, where their magazines were established, and to drive them to the Jordan, where general Murat could successfully, and finally, encounter them. The cavalry, under the command of general Le Turq, with two light field pieces, were ordered to storm the camp of the Mamelukes, while the infantry advanced against the main body.

General Kleber, on the march from his camp at Safarie, had been led astray by the guides, and retarded by the difficulties of the way, and the defiles he had to pass; he was unable to come up with the Mamelukes, until being informed of his approach, by their advanced posts on the heights of Harmon, they had time to make preparations for his reception. General Kleber formed his infantry into two square columns, and occupied some ruins in his front. The enemy stationed the Naplouzian infantry, with two small field pieces, brought by camels, in the village of Fouli: all the cavalry, to the amount of 25,000 surrounded the army of Kleber, but without success; every effort to dislodge it was defeated by superior skill; the French musketry and grape shot did considerable execution.

Buonaparte, on arriving within half a league from the scene of action, ordered general Rampon to march directly

to the assistance of Kleber's division and to attack the enemy on the flanks and in the rear. General Vial was ordered to proceed to the mountains of Noures, in order to force the enemy towards the Jordan; and the infantry guides were commanded to direct the course of the remaining troops towards Jenin, so as to intercept their retreat to that quarter. At the moment the columns began to advance in their different directions, an eight pounder was discharged. General Kleber knowing by this signal of the approach of the general in chief, no longer remained on the defensive, he advanced to the village of Fouli, which he attacked and carried by the bayonet; he then advanced rapidly, towards the cavalry, putting all those who resisted his progress to the sword; at the same time generals Rampon and Vial cut off the retreat of the enemy towards the mountains of Naplouse, and the infantry guides shot such as attempted to escape towards Jenin. Disorder and hesitation prevailed; the enemy saw their retreat to their camp intercepted, they were cut off from their magazines, and surrounded by their adversaries on all sides; at length they determined to seek for refuge in the rear of Mount Tabor; this situation they gained, and retreated during the night, over the bridge of El-Meckanie; some, in endeavouring to pass at a ford, were drowned in the Jordan.

General Murat had driven the Turks from their position at the bridge of Jacob, surprised the son of the governor of Damascus, carried his camp, killed a great number of men, raised the blockade of Saffet, and pursued the enemy several leagues on the route to Damascus. The column of cavalry, under the order of the adjutant-general Le Turq, had surprised the camp of the Mamelukes, carried off 500 camels, with all their provisions, killed a great number of men, and made 250 prisoners. Whilst the army remained under arms at Mount Tabor, Buonaparte resorted to his usual mode of encouraging the troops, by representing those trifling advantages as affairs of the greatest consequence. From this point, intelligence of the recent successes were dispatched to the different corps occupying Tyre, Cesarea, the cataracts of the Nile, the Pelusian mouths, Alexandria, the posts on the borders of the Red Sea, at the ruins of Kolsuni, and at Arsinoe.

The Naplouzians of Noures, Jenin and Fouli, had no

ceased, since the commencement of the siege of Acre, to attack the convoys of the French army, to keep up a correspondence with Dgezzar, and to give him every assistance in their power; these hostile proceedings holding out a most dangerous example, Buonaparte ordered these villages to be burned, and to put all found therein to the sword. General Murat advanced to Taborie, where he took possession of the warlike stores and great quantities of provisions, which the enemy had abandoned. General Kleber took a position at Nazareth; he was ordered to occupy the bridges of Jacob and El-Meckanie, the castles of Saffet and Taborie, and charged narrowly to watch the banks of the Jordan.

The result of the battle of mount Tabor was, the discomfiture of 25,000 cavalry, and 10,000 infantry, by 4,000 French troops; the capture of all the enemy's magazines in these parts, and their flight to Demascus. By their own accounts their loss exceeded 5,000 men; and they were at a loss to conceive how, at the same moment, they could have been defeated on a line extending nine leagues, so little notion had they of combined operations.

Buonaparte now returned to Acre, imagining that he had accomplished great objects; but, in reality, he had been merely promoting the views of the British and Turkish commanders.

CHAPTER XIV.

BUONAPARTE now being informed that admiral Perree was before Jaffa, and that he had landed three 24, and six 18-pounders, with a quantity of ammunition; he gave orders that admiral Gantheaume should cruise with the frigates between the coasts of Syria and Cyprus, in order to seize on the vessels which were conveying supplies of ammunition and provisions to Acre. Some Arabs, posted in the environs of Mount Carmel, at the desire of sir S. Smith and the pacha, interrupted the communications of the French army. General La Turq was sent, with a corps of 300 men, in order to disperse them; he surprised their camp, killed 61, and brought away 800 head of cattle, which were of great service to the army. But still Buonaparte had ef-

fecting no part of his object, and was further from its attainment than on his first arrival, for the British commodore had caused such formidable works to be erected, that all further attempts were useless, and only served to shew the general's disregard of human life. At the end of one month after the trenches had been opened before the town, the only advantage that Buonaparte had gained, was, that his army had killed major Oldfield, captain Wilmot, and colonel Phillipeau, three of the most able officers in the English army, with an immense number of persons of less consequence, in the numerous sorties that were made from the garrison. The ships and boats in the port continued to annoy his camp incessantly, and it became necessary, in the opinion of Buonaparte, that decisive measures should still be hazarded.

On the 25th of April, a mine intended to blow up the tower, near the breach, was completed, and the batteries were opened upon the place. The mine was set fire to, but a subterraneous passage under the tower presenting a line that weakened the resistance, the mine blew up but on one side of the tower, and the breach remained in such a state as to be as difficult of access as before. Buonaparte ordered 30 grenadiers to get into the tower, and reconnoitre its means of communication with the rest of the fortress; they advanced as far as the ruins under the arch of the upper story, but the allies, who kept up a communication by means of the narrow vaulted passages, and who were in possession of the ruins of the upper arches, showered down such quantities of burning materials upon them, that those who were not entirely disabled hastily retreated.

On the 25th, in the evening, an attempt was made to effect a lodgment in the first story, and workmen were employed several hours for the purpose of rendering it more practicable; but the Turks allowed them to approach the breach only to get them within their power; they threw down burning materials upon them, and compelled them again to retire from the tower.

The British, in order to defend their front of attack, of which almost all the cannon were dismounted, ran out a ravelin on each side of the enemy's approach, which was worked by the English marines, under a constant cannonade from the French; batteries were also formed, which advantageously flanked the tower and the breach. The English

and the Turks laboured at these works without cessation, and every step was taken to increase the effect of the fire from the flanking batteries, and to prepare for a counter attack against the trenches of the besiegers. Under cover of the fire from the towers and elevated walls, they formed their outworks with a degree of facility; and it was evidently impossible for the French to make any impression without a far superior artillery, and a greater quantity of ammunition than they were provided with: several times did they carry these works, but were always driven from them.

On the 1st of May four 18-pounders were directed against the tower, for the purpose of widening the breach; in the evening 20 grenadiers were ordered to effect a lodgment in tower, and, in some measure, succeeded; but they were exposed to a cross fire of the marines in the fosse, and, feeling the impossibility of passing through the tower, desisted from the attempt. At the moment the grenadiers were mounting the breach at the tower, the besieged made a strong sortie from their right; they were charged by two companies of grenadiers with such impetuosity and effect, that all those who could not retire under the protection of the fire from the gunboats, were cut off or driven into the sea.

Buonaparte gave orders that a second breach should be made in the curtain of the fortifications to the eastward: a sapping against the fosses, and the formation of a mine, in order to blow up the counterscarp, were also ordered. Until the 4th of May the works and operations of the besiegers and the besieged were carried on with great ardour and activity; when the ammunition of the French began to fail, and Buonaparte ordered the fire to be slackened. Perceiving this, the besieged carried on their sapping with greater activity than ever, particularly that on the right, the object of which was to prevent the French sapping from communicating with the new mine. At ten o'clock at night, some companies of grenadiers began to storm the outworks; the Turkish advanced guard was surprised, many of them put to the sword, the works taken possession of, and three of the guns spiked; but the fire of the place, to which these works were completely exposed, prevented the French remaining long enough to destroy them, and they were re-

entered by their former possessors. The main object of the besieged was to counteract the mine, which was intended for blowing up the counterscarp that had been formed in front of the new breach in the curtain, and at this they laboured with the greatest activity. In the morning of the 6th they made extraordinary exertions for the purpose, but not succeeding to their wishes, they immediately determined to cut through their counterscarp, as near as possible to the mine; at three o'clock the French perceived that they were opening, by a covert sapping, the mask of the mine; Buonaparte cannonaded them, but the mischief was done; the mine was completely counter-worked, a vent opened, and the framing destroyed.

The old breach at the tower now appeared the only point against which he could direct his attacks with any prospect of success. Buonaparte, therefore, issued orders, that, in the night between the 6th and 7th, the troops should possess themselves of the outworks, which were erected for flanking the breach, and particularly that which crowned the glacis, near the first mine; that the attack should be made as expeditiously as possible; and that all those who occupied the works should be put to the sword, and a lodgment therein secured. These orders were partly effected by the riflemen of the 87th, and a body of grenadiers, who gained possession of the works, except those which crowned the glacis, near the old mine, and flanked the tower; they were, however, checked by the terrible fire from the town, which rendered all these desperate efforts unavailing, and compelled the goaded soldiers once more to retire, with great loss.

On the 7th of May thirty sail of Turkish ships arrived at Acre, from the island of Rhodes, laden with stores and provisions for the besieged, and brought, besides, a considerable reinforcement of troops; they were under convoy of a caraval and several armed corvettes, commanded by Hassan Bey. Buonaparte discovered this fleet as soon as it hove in sight; and anxious that some decisive operation should take place before the arrival of the succours, gave orders that a renewal of the attack should take place during the night. At ten o'clock the fire of the besiegers was increased ten-fold; the ravelins, the work upon the glacis, and the tower upon the breach, were all carried, and a lodg-

ment made in the tower. The 18th and 32d demi-brigades filled up the newly constructed works with the bodies of their slain ; they spiked a number of cannon ; and neither suffered the determined resistance of the Anglo-Turks, nor the tremendous fire from the batteries to retard their progress. Never, on any occasion, was more valour and intrepidity displayed than upon this occasion. Generals Bon, Vial, and Rampon, were at the head of the demi-brigades, and afforded the most striking examples of active courage combined with cool determination. Boyer, chief of the 18th, was killed in this attack ; and 150 of those intrepid fellows, seventeen of them officers, were killed and wounded.

The flanking fire from the shipping was, as usual, plied to the utmost, but with less effect than heretofore, as the French had thrown up epaulments and traverses of sufficient thickness to protect them from it. The guns that could be worked to the greatest advantage were, a French brass 18-pounder in the Lighthouse Castle, manned from the The-seus, under the direction of Mr. Scroder, master's mate, and the last mounted twenty-four pounder in the north ravelin, manned from the Tigre, under the direction of Mr. Jones, midshipman : these guns being within grape distance of the head of the attacking column, added to the Turkish musketry, did great execution, and were highly creditable to the two officers, whose indefatigable vigilance and zeal merited the warmest praise. Two sixty-eight pound caronades, belonging to the Tigre, were mounted in two germes lying in the mole, and worked under the direction of Mr. Bray, carpenter of that ship, threw shells into the centre of the French column, and checked it considerably. Still, however, they gained ground, and general Lásne and Rombauid, with 200 men, made a lodgment in the second story of the north-east tower ; the upper part being entirely battered down, and the ruins in the ditch forming the ascent by which they mounted. Daylight discovered the French standard on the outer angle of the tower. The fire of the besieged was much slackened, in comparison to that of the besiegers, and the flanking fire was become of less effect ; the French having covered themselves in this lodgment, and the approach to it, by two traverses across the ditch (which they had constructed under the fire that had been opposed

to them during the whole of the night) and which were composed of sand-bags, and the bodies of their dead built in with them, their bayonets only being visible above them. Hassan Bey's troops were in the boats, though, as yet, but half way to shore : this was the most critical point of the contest for the English and Turkish commanders, and their utmost exertions were necessary to preserve the place till the boats could arrive. Accordingly, sir Sydney Smith landed his boats at the mole, and took the crews up to the breach, armed with pikes. The enthusiastic gratitude of the Turks, men, women, and children, at sight of such a reinforcement, at such a time, was not to be described. Many fugitives were encouraged to return to the breach, which was yet defended by a few brave Turks, whose most destructive missile weapons were heavy stones, which, striking the assailants on the head, overthrew the foremost down the slope, and impeded the progress of the rest. Dgezzar Pacha hearing that the English were on the breach, quitted his station, where, according to the ancient Turkish custom, he was sitting to reward such as should bring him the heads of the enemy, and distributing musket cartridges with his own hands, and, coming behind them, pulled them down with violence ; saying, " If any harm happened to his English friends, all was lost." This amicable contest, as to who should defend the breach, occasioned the rush of Turks to the spot, and thus time was gained for the arrival of the first body of Hassan Bey's troops. The garrison, animated by the appearance of such a reinforcement, was now all on foot, and there being consequently enough to defend the breach, sir Sydney Smith gave directions to the colonel Solomon Aga, to get possession of the enemy's third parallel, or nearest trench, and there fortify himself, by shifting the parapet outwards. The gates were opened, and the Turks rushed out ; but they were not equal to such a movement, and were driven back to the town, with loss. Mr. Bray, however, protected the town-gate efficaciously, with grape, from the sixty-eight pounders. The sortie obliged the enemy to expose themselves above their parapets, so that the flanking fire brought down numbers of them, and drew their force from the breach, and the small number remaining on the lodgment were killed or dispersed by a few hand grenades, thrown by Mr.

Savage, midshipman of the *Theseus*. The enemy began a new breach, by an incessant fire directed to the southward of the lodgment, every shot knocking down whole sheets of a wall much less solid than that of the tower, on which they had expended so much time and ammunition. The group of generals and aid-du-camps which the shells from the sixty-eight pounders had frequently dispersed, now re-assembled on Richard Cœur de Lion's Mount. Buonaparte was distinguishable in the centre of a semicircle; his gesticulations indicated a renewal of the attack, and his dispatching an aid-du-camp to the camp shewed that he waited only for a reinforcement. Sir Sydney made his arrangements accordingly, and gave directions for Hassan Bey's ships to take their stations in the shoal water to the southward, and the *Tigre* received orders to weigh, and join the *Theseus* to the northward. A little before sun-set, a massive column appeared advancing to the breach with a solemn step. The pacha's idea was, not to defend the breach this time, but rather to let a certain number of the enemy in, and then close with them, according to the Turkish mode of war. The column thus mounted the breach unmolested, and descended from the rampart into the pacha's garden, where, in a very few minutes, the bravest and most advanced among them lay headless corpses, the sabre, with the addition of a dagger in the other hand, proving more than a match for the bayonet; the rest retreated precipitately: and general Lasne, who was seen manfully encouraging his men to mount the breach, was carried off wounded by a musket shot. Much confusion arose in the town from the actual entry of the French, it having been impossible, nay, impolitic, to give previous information to every body of the mode of defence adopted, lest the French should come to a knowledge of it, by means of their numerous emissaries. The French now imagined that their work was done, and pressed forward with additional courage, and they were greatly favoured by the difficulty that the Turks found in distinguishing their friends from their enemies. The English uniform, which had hitherto served as a rallying point for the old garrison, wherever it appeared, was now mistaken for the French, the newly arrived Turks not distinguishing between one hat and another in the crowd; and thus many a severe blow of a sabre was parried by the

English officers, among which colonel Douglass, Mr. Ives, and Mr. Jones, had nearly lost their lives, as they were forcing their way through a torrent of fugitives; the mistake was corrected by the pacha's exertions, aided by Mr. Trotter who had just arrived from Hassan Bey. The breach being perfectly practicable for fifty men abreast, nothing but the most determined courage could resist the impetuosity of the French troops; a close combat ensued, and man to man fought with the greatest fury. General Rombaud was killed, and Buonaparte saw that his troops were likely to suffer so much by continuing the contest, that he gave them orders to retreat.

On returning to their camp, the French learned, through admiral Gantheaume, that admiral Perree, while cruising before Jaffa, had taken two vessels, that had separated from the Turkish fleet; on board of these were found six pieces of field artillery, a considerable quantity of harnesses, and provisions, one hundred and fifty thousand livres in specie, four hundred soldiers and the commissary of the Turkish fleet. On the person of this officer, was found a statement of the number of troops embarked in the fleet, and of the quantity of warlike stores and provisions; and the French understood from him that the fleet made part of an armament for an intended expedition against Alexandria, combined with one which Dgezzar had undertaken by land; but, that on receiving the intelligence of the unforeseen attack upon St. Jean d'Acre, they had dispatched the fleet, together with the troops, the utmost force they then could collect, to the relief of that place. This change in their destination took place at the pressing request of sir Sydney Smith.

During the day and night of the 9th of May the French batteries continued to fire; the 10th, at two o'clock in the morning, Buonaparte closely viewed the breach, and gave orders for a new assault. The riflemen of the different divisions, the grenadiers of the fifteenth and nineteenth, and the caribiniers of the second light infantry, mounted the breach; they surprised the outposts, and put those found therein to the sword; but their progress was stopped by some newly formed entrenchments, which they were utterly unable to force; they were, therefore obliged to retreat in confusion. The firing from the batteries continued the whole day; at four in the afternoon the grenadiers of the

twenty-fifth demi-brigade solicited from Buonaparte the honour of being permitted to begin the assault ; their request was granted ; they rushed forward, but the Anglo-Turkish troops had formed a second and a third line of defence, to force which required an entire new disposition ; the troops, therefore, were again ordered to retreat. The three last assaults cost the army about two hundred killed, and five hundred wounded ; among the latter was general Bon, who afterwards died of his wounds. The adjutant-general Foulcr, Venoux, chief of the twenty-fifth, and the assistants to the adjutants-general, Pinault and Gerbault, and citizen Crosier, aid-de-camp to the general in chief, were also mortally wounded. Citizen Arrighy, aid-de-camp to general Berthier, and the assistants to the adjutants-general, Netherwood and Monpatris, were severely wounded. The rear of the parallels, and the whole space between the two armies, was covered with dead bodies, the stench of which became intolerable, and obliged the French to desist for a time, from any further operation.

Before the news of Desaix's movements reached the capital, Buonaparte had arrived there from Syria ; his march had spread desolation on every side, and entailed upon him and his companions, the curses of every city, town, and habitation, from the ocean to the desert. He reached Cairo on the 14th of June.

Buonaparte set out from Cairo on the 14th of July, with the cavalry and infantry guides, the grenadiers of the 18th and 32d, the riflemen, and two pieces of cannon, and advanced towards the pyramids of Gizah, where he ordered general Murat to join him. Arrived at the pyramids, his advanced guard pursued the Arabs that were in the rear of Murad Bey, who, that morning, began to ascend towards Fayum ; a few men were killed in this pursuit, and several camels taken. General Murat, who had joined the general in chief, pursued Murad Bey on his route for the space of five leagues. Buonaparte, who had designed to halt two or three days at the pyramids of Gizah, received intelligence from Alexandria, that a Turkish fleet, of 100 sail, had anchored off Aboukir, on the 11th of July, and manifested hostile designs on Alexandria. He instantly departed for Gizah, where he passed the night in making his dispositions ; he ordered general Murat to proceed to Rahmanieh

with his cavalry, the grenadiers of the 69th, those of the 18th and 32d, the *eclaireurs*, and a battalion, which was with him, of the 13th. A part of the division of general Lasne was ordered to cross the Nile in the night, and to repair to Rahmanieh; as were also a part of general Rampon's division. The artillery destined for the march was also put in motion; and, during the night, all the necessary orders and instructions were forwarded to the different provinces with the utmost haste.

Buonaparte wrote to general Desaix, to spare him a part of his force, and to let general Friant fall into the route of Murad Bey, and follow him with his flying column wherever he went; to supply the fortress of Keneh, in Upper Egypt, and that of Cosseir, upon the Red Sea, amply with ammunition and provisions; to leave 100 men in each place; to observe Cairo closely during the expedition against the Turks at Aboukir; and to concert measures with general Dugua, commandant at Cairo, for the security of the French interests in that quarter.

General Kleber was directed to advance towards Rosetta; previously leaving a sufficient number of troops for the security of Damietta, and the province. General Menou, who was gone, with a flying column, to the lakes of Natron, was ordered to place 200 Greeks, with a piece of cannon, as garrisons in the convents, which it was thought would make excellent places of defence; the general was then to join the force at Rahmanieh with the rest of his column. Buonaparte left Gizah the 16th of July and arrived on the 19th at Rahmanieh. Generals Lasne, Robin, and Fugieres, who were employed in the districts of Menuf and Garbieh, in enforcing the payment of the *Miri*, joined the army there the 20th and 21st.

Here Buonaparte received intelligence that the Turkish ships had landed, near the fort of Aboukir, on the 12th, about 3,000 men, with artillery; and that the garrison, the commandant of which had been killed, had surrendered the same day. The French commander was greatly mortified at this event, as it proved that the soldiers did not think the expedition worth the blood that had been shed for it, and were unwilling to spill their own. At Rosetta, the adjutant-general, Julien, secured his provisions, ammunition, and all the sick, within the castle; but he remained

in the town with about 200 men, whom he had under his command, and maintained public confidence and tranquillity in the province. General Marmont (who commanded at Alexandria) dispatched intelligence to the general, that Aboukir had surrendered on capitulation; that the Turks were employed in landing their artillery; that he had destroyed the pontoons which the French had constructed over the strait which joins the lake Madie with the road of Aboukir; that he was informed by his agents, that the enemy designed to besiege Alexandria, and that the Turks were about 15,000 strong.

In consequence of this information, Buonaparte dispatched general Menou to Rosetta with a reinforcement of troops, with orders to observe the motions of the enemy, and to defend the entrance of the Nile. It was expected that the enemy, elated by the capture of Aboukir, would become enterprising, and proceed either against Alexandria or Rosetta; but the general learned, with disappointment, that, on the contrary, they were forming magazines in the peninsula of Aboukir; that they were forming magazines in the fort, and organizing the Arabs, and that they waited for the co-operation of Murad Bey, and his Mamelukes, before they advanced. It was obvious that the enemy, in his then situation, would daily increase his strength; it was, therefore, important to take a position whence he might be attacked with equal advantage, whether he proceeded against Rosetta or invested Alexandria; such a position, whence, if the enemy remained at Aboukir, they might be attacked, deprived of their artillery, or bombarded in, and compelled to surrender.

Buonaparte chose a position at the village of Birkit, as one combining those advantages; it is situated at the point of one of the angles of the lake Madie, and from which he could march with equal facility to Etoko, Rosetta, Aboukir, or Alexandria; from which he might, besides, confine the enemy to the peninsula of Aboukir, render his communication with the interior more difficult, and entirely intercept the expected reinforcements from the Arabs and the Mamelukes. General Murat, with the cavalry, the dromedaries, the grenadiers, and the 1st battalion of the 69th, left Rahmanieh in the evening of the 20th of July, to proceed to Birkit. This general had orders to open a commu-

nication with Alexandria by detachments, to reconnoitre the enemy at Aboukir, and to advance his patrols round lake Madie, as far as Etko. The army, as well as the headquarters, took its position at Birkit on the 23d, and miners were sent to clear the wells at Beda. In the night one division of it took a position at Kafr-fin and the other at Beda; head-quarters were removed to Alexandria; the general in chief passed the rest of the night in examining the reports of the situation of the enemy at Aboukir; he dispatched three battalions of the garrison of Alexandria, under the command of general Destaing, to reconnoitre the enemy, take a favourable position about midway between Alexandria and Aboukir, and to clear the adjacent wells. Near his intended station Destaing received intelligence that general Kleber was at Fouah, with a part of his division, and following the route of the army, pursuant to his orders.

According to the reports of the agents and reconnoitring parties, Mustapha Pacha, commander of the Turkish army, had landed with about 15,000 men, a large train of artillery, and 100 horses, and was occupied in erecting works and entrenching the greater part of his force. In the afternoon Buonaparte removed from Alexandria, with the headquarters, to a position near general Destaing's station and the wells between Alexandria and Aboukir. The cavalry, under general Murat, and the divisions of generals Lasne and Rampon, were ordered to follow immediately to the same station; they accordingly arrived early on the morning of the 25th, together with a corps of 400 cavalry, from Upper Egypt; at day-break the army began to move; the advanced guard was commanded by general Murat, who had under his orders 400 cavalry, together with general Destaing, and three battalions, with two field pieces. The division of general Lasne formed the right wing and that of general Lannusse the left; the division of general Kleber, expected to arrive in the course of the day, was to form the reserve. The train of artillery, escorted by a squadron of horse followed the main body of the army. The general of brigade Davoust with two squadrons of horse, and 100 dromedaries, was directed to take a position between Alexandria and the army, as well to oppose the Arabs and Murad Bey, whose arrival was hourly expected, as to secure the communication with Alexandria. Orders were dispatched to

general Menou, who had advanced to Rosetta, to proceed at day-break and take a position at the extremity of the neck of land, at the entrance of lake Madie, on the side of Aboukir, in order to cannonade and keep at a distance any vessels of the enemy that might be on the lake, and attempt to harass the enemy on that side.

Mustapha Pacha had drawn up his first line half a league in front of the fort of Aboukir; about 1,000 men occupied an intrenched sand-hill on his right, close to the sea, this was supported by a village, occupied by 1,200 men, with four pieces of cannon. The left wing, which consisted of about 2,000 men, with six pieces of cannon, was upon a detached sand-hill, in front of the first line; this position, which was ill fortified, was chosen to protect the wells, that are most abundant near Aboukir. Some gunboats appeared to be stationed with a view to protect the space between this position and the second line. The pacha's second position was about 300 toises in the rear of the village; his centre in and near the redoubt, which he had taken at the first landing; the right of this position was behind an entrenchment extended from the redoubt to the sea, for the space of an 150 toises; his left, stretching from the redoubt towards the shore on the other side, occupied some low sand-hills, on the verge of the sea, where it was covered by the fire both of the redoubt and of the gunboats; in the second position were nearly 7,000 men, with 12 pieces of cannon: 150 toises to the rear of the redoubt was situate the village of Aboukir, and close to it the fort, these were occupied by about 1,500 men. Eighty horsemen formed the suite of the pacha, who had the chief command: and the Turkish squadron was at anchor in the road, at the distance of half a league.

After a march of two hours, the advanced guard came within sight of the enemy, and commenced a discharge of musketry. Buonaparte ordered the columns to halt, and made his dispositions for the attack. The general of brigade, Destaing, with his three battalions, was ordered to carry the height on the right of the enemy, which was occupied by about 1000 men; at the same time a piquet of cavalry were sent to cut off the retreat of this body to the village. The division of general Lasne was to advance against the detached sand-hill, on the left of the enemy's line,

where 2000 men and six pieces of cannon were stationed; two squadrons of horse were dispatched to observe the motions of this corps, and to endeavour to cut off its retreat. The rest of the cavalry were to advance against the centre, and the division of general Lannusse was to remain in the second line.

General Destaing with the force under his orders, charged the enemy with the bayonet; they abandoned their intrenchments, and retreated towards the village, but the greater part of the fugitives were cut down by the cavalry. The corps against which the division of general Lasne advanced seeing that stationed on the right gave way, and that the cavalry was about to turn its position, attempted to retire, after discharging a few cannon shot; but the two squadrons of cavalry and a platoon of guides cut off its retreat, and either killed or precipitated the whole corps into the sea. General Destaing's force then marched against the village, which was nearly in front of the centre of the pacha's second line: this post he turned while the thirty-second demi-brigade attacked it in front. The Turks here made a spirited resistance; a considerable number of men were detached from the left of the second line to the relief of the village; but the reinforcement was charged and routed by the cavalry, who drove the greater part of the fugitives into the sea. The village was then speedily carried, and its defenders pursued as far as the redoubt, which was the centre of the second position. This post was a very strong one; the redoubt was flanked by a work which covered the peninsula on the right as far as the sea; another work of similar construction, extended to the left, but to a small distance from the redoubt; the rest of the space was occupied by Mustapha's troops, who were posted on the sand-hills, and among the groves of palm-trees.

While the troops took breath, Buonaparte ordered several pieces of artillery to be planted at the village and along the shore, and a fire was opened on the enemy's right and on the redoubt; general Destaing's battalions, drawn up near the village they had carried, formed the centre of the line of attack, and fronted the redoubt; they were ordered to advance. General Fugiers received orders to march along the shore, in order to force, by the bayonet, the right wing of the Turks. The thirty-second, which occupied

the left of the village, had orders to hold them in check, and to support the eighteenth. The cavalry, which was placed on the right of the army, attacked the enemy's left, charging it several times with great impetuosity: it cut down, or drove into the sea, all before it; but they could not penetrate beyond the redoubt without being placed between its fire and that of the gun-boats; from this terrible situation they were obliged to fall back, while the thinned ranks of the Turks were supplied by fresh troops.

The Turks, deficient in discipline, but not in ardour, stood the shock of the French artillery with the greatest courage, but their resistance only stimulated the courage of the French cavalry to new attacks; at each charge they rushed forward to the very fosse of the redoubt; and, though every soldier considered himself as sent upon the forlorn hope, they all seemed actuated by the infernal determination to do as much mischief as possible before they died. The adjutant-general Roze, Bessiers, chief of brigade of the cavalry guides, and adjutant Le Turq, were at the head of the charges; the chief of brigade Daviver, was killed. The horse artillery, and that of the guides, took a position in face of the enemy's musketry, whence, by a brisk discharge of grape shot, they powerfully contributed to the success of the battle. The adjutant-general Le Turq judged that a reinforcement of infantry was necessary; he represented this to Buonaparte, who sent him with a battalion of the seventy-fifth; he rejoined the cavalry, but his horse being soon killed, he put himself at the head of the infantry; with this he flew to the centre of the left, to join the eighteenth demi-brigade, which he saw advancing to attack the intrenchments of the enemy's right. The eighteenth continued to advance; the enemy, at the same time made a sortie from their position on the right, and engaged the fronts of the columns, man to man; the Turks endeavoured to wrest the bayonets from the French; in despair they slung their own muskets behind them, and fought with the sabre and pistol. At length the eighteenth reached the intrenchments, but the fire of the redoubt, which every where flanked the trenches, behind which the enemy had again rallied, stopped the column. General Fugiers, and the adjutant-general, Le Turq, displayed prodigies of valour; the former received a wound in the head; he continued, nevertheless, to

fight ; soon after a ball carried away his left arm, and he was constrained to follow the movements of the eighteenth, which, in the greatest order, and maintaining a brisk fire, retreated to the village. The adjutant-general Le Turq, having vainly exerted himself to determine the column to throw itself into the enemy's entrenchments, leaped into them himself—but he was cut down by a sabre, and mixed among the dead ; the chief of brigade, Morangei, was previously wounded, and twenty of the eighteenth were killed upon the spot. The Turks, in face of the heavy fire from the village, darted from their entrenchments, in order to cut off the heads of the dead and wounded, that they might obtain the silver aigrette, which their government bestows on every soldier who brings the head of an enemy.

The general in chief had ordered a battalion of the twenty-second light infantry, and another of the sixty-ninth, to advance upon the left of the enemy ; general Lasne, who was at their head, seized the moment in which the Turks had imprudently quitted their intrenchments, to storm the redoubt ; he attacked it with the greatest vigour on the left flank and on its gorge ; the 22d, the 69th and a battalion of the 75th, leaped into the ditch, were soon upon the parapet and within the redoubt ; at the same time the 18th charged the right of the enemy with the bayonet. General Murat, who then commanded the advanced guard, took advantage of the moment in which general Lasne stormed the redoubt, to order the cavalry to charge, and to break through all the positions of the enemy, to the very ditches of the fort : this order was executed with such vigour and effect, that at the moment the redoubt was forced, the cavalry were on the spot to cut off the enemy's retreat to the fort.—The rout of the Turks was complete, and they beheld death on every side ; the infantry charged them with the bayonet ; the cavalry cut them down with the sabre. No alternative but the sea remained ; to this sad resource they fled, as a last refuge. Several thousands committed themselves to the waves ; showers of musketry and grape-shot followed them ; never did so terrible a sight present itself : few of them survived ! as the ships were too far distant for the greater part to reach them. Mustapha Pacha, the commander in chief of the Turkish army, and 200 men were made prisoners ; about 2,000 were killed in the field of bat-

tle ; all the tents and baggage, and twenty pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the French. The fort of Aboukir did not fire a shot ; all within were panic struck. A flag of truce was sent out, by which it appeared that the fort was defended by 1,200 men ; it was proposed to them to surrender ; some were inclined to agree, while others refused ; the day was spent in parleying ; at length a position was taken, and the wounded were removed. Many of the French officers died of their wounds. In the night the Turkish squadron communicated with the shore ; the garrison was re-organised and defended the fort : and batteries of cannon and mortars were erected by the French for its reduction.

On the 26th of July the fort was summoned to surrender. The son of the pacha, his kiaya, and the officers were willing to capitulate, but the soldiers refused. On the 27th the bombardment was continued ; on the 28th several batteries were erected on the right and left of the isthmus, some gun-boats were sunk, and a frigate was dismasted and forced to put to sea. The same day the besieged, who began to want provisions, got into some houses of the village which joined the works ; general Lasne approached to attack them, but was severely wounded in the leg ; general Menou succeeded him in the command of the siege. On the 30th general Davoust forced the trenches, and those houses wherein the Turks were lodged, and, after some slaughter, drove them into the fort.

On the 2d of August general Robin made himself master of the trenches ; batteries were raised on the counter-scarp, and the mortars played with vigour ; the fort was little more than a heap of stones. The besieged had now no communication with the squadron, and were in extreme want of provisions, yet they did not capitulate, but threw down their arms, and surrendered at discretion. The son of the pacha, the kiaya, and the governor, were made prisoners ; thus, a combination of talents and skill had subdued the energies of physical power. This victory had a direct tendency to establish the French dominion in Egypt, by shewing the dreadful consequences of opposing them ; but they were rapidly wasting, and, as they had no means of recruiting their strength, a victory obtained at the expense of a few hundreds of men, was equal to a defeat. The

general saw that he was likely to be assailed on every side, and that he could not strengthen one frontier without weakening another ; but, from the prisoners captured at Aboukir he learned, with the utmost chagrin and mortification, that he was entirely superseded in the grand object of his expedition ; for the English had penetrated his design of co-operating with Tippoo, and had overthrown that monarch, and seized all his territories, by which the influence of France, in the East Indies, was perfectly annihilated. Egypt itself had now lost half its value, and the mind of Buonaparte, naturally sullen, retired within itself. He was never cheerful, unless to disguise the secret bodings of his soul ; and he now looked upon none as his friends but those who soothed him with copious draughts of flattery. He saw but few persons, and conversed freely with none. Berthier and Menou seemed to have most of his confidence. He did but little business, and it was easy for any acute observer to see that he was conscious of having failed ; but though he regarded the expedition as having miscarried, he had not courage to believe that any other person's views corresponded with his own.

The hopes of Egypt were now all transported to France, whilst those of France were centered in Egypt ; so powerful is the propensity in mankind to rely upon any other exertion than their own. It has already been stated that the communication between France and Egypt was cut off by the English cruisers, and the allies had, by this means, kept the two countries ignorant of each other's situation, an advantage far inferior to that of being themselves acquainted with the real state of the new colony ; for it became evident to the British government, upon the perusal of these dispatches and letters, that Buonaparte could not long maintain himself in the new settlement. Such of the intercepted letters as it was thought fit to print were published by authority of the English government ; and it appeared by these papers, that, from his entering upon the expedition to Egypt, the general had altered the orthography of his name and descended from Buonaparte into a Bonaparte, all his public acts being so signed. To the French government it appeared highly important that a maritime force should be collected to enable the republic to recover the command in the Mediterranean. Early in the spring the British had

not more than 15 sail in that sea, the rest of the navy being employed in watching the different coasts of the ocean, and every harbour being carefully blockaded. The fleet in Brest harbour seemed so entirely unprovided with almost every necessary, that no apprehensions were entertained of its daring to put to sea in haste. The news, however, of its being actually at sea, arrived at Plymouth on the 30th of April, when 14 sail of the line immediately set sail from Spithead, the greater part of which were appointed to reinforce the fleet under lord Bridport, who had at sea 24 sail of the line and six frigates by the 10th of May, and in a few days after was joined by admiral Collingwood. A squadron of five sail of the line and three frigates, was sent, under vice-admiral Whitshed, to reinforce that of lord St. Vincent, then before Cadiz ; and vice-admiral Dixon sailed from Yarmouth with five sail of the line to reinforce that before the Texel, and of which lord Duncan took upon him the command, having received an additional force of five Russian vessels, under admiral Tatc.

CHAPTER XV.

SEVEN long years had Europe now been spilling her best blood, without having advanced a single step towards her object, and without being able to devise any means by which peace could possibly be obtained. The allies had coalesced, but were by no means united, and the French were ultimately tranquil, though very far from settled. Peace was equally desirable to both sides, but the different cabinets seemed to be cursed by such a spirit of blindness that neither of them could discern its true interest. Such was the perverse state of things whilst our hero was shut up in the gloom of disappointment at Alexandria ; and, though he could not foresee exactly, whether peace or war would be most conducive to his interests, it was certain that neither his interests nor views would be promoted by the defeat of the French.

So perfectly agreed were all his friends upon this point, that no doubt was entertained at Paris, that, if he could but be made acquainted with the true state of things, he would

hazard much to return to the seat of government, and would, in so doing, be able to recover the glory of France and add much to his own. The turn that the affairs of Egypt had taken deprived him of all further attachment to that crusade, and he was brooding over the disgrace and mortification that would follow his failure, when means were found of making known to him the events that had occurred, and the wishes of his friends. A person of nice sensibility would have been greatly embarrassed upon such an occasion, and the idea of deserting his companions and followers, just at the moment when accumulating dangers rendered his assistance more than ever necessary, would have been regarded by some persons as an instance of baseness and cowardice too shocking to be practised. Not so, Buonaparte—he wanted an excuse to abandon his project, and he had found one; he collected a few of his most obsequious followers, and, clandestinely, quitted Egypt in their company, without giving the shortest notice of his design.

As soon as he had resolved to return to France, Buonaparte ordered admiral Ganteaume to get ready for sea the two frigates that lay at Alexandria; general Menou was entrusted with the secret just time enough to apprise the persons who were to be of the party to hold themselves in readiness to attend the general, and, on the 23d of August, at one o'clock, says Denou, “we were told that Buonaparte waited in the road; an hour after we were at sea.” At his departure the general left the following address to the army:

BUNAPARTE, *commander in chief, to the army.*

Head-quarters, Alexandria, August 22d, 1799.

“In consequence of the news from Europe, I have determined to return immediately to France. I leave the command of the army to general Kleber; they shall hear from me speedily; this is all I can say to them at present. It grieves me to the heart to part from the brave men to whom I am so tenderly attached; but it will be only for an instant; and the general I leave at their head is in full possession of the confidence of the government and of mine.

BONAPARTE.”

To persons wholly unacquainted with maritime affairs, it may seem extraordinary, that, at a time when it was understood the British government kept all the ports of Egypt, as it were, hermetically sealed, Buonaparte should have ven-

tured to defy its vigilance, and enter upon so dangerous a voyage. Such persons will, however, be much more surprised to find, that in the midst of so diligent a look-out, this terrific commander could put to sea unobserved, and again traverse the Mediterranean, without being met by one single vessel belonging to a nation which spent that year 13,647,000*l.* to purchase the dominion of the ocean ! Persons of this sort were heard to charge the British admiralty with negligence on account of this escape, but, Buonaparte himself, who was less displeased upon the occasion, attributes it to his "good fortune."

On his voyage nothing remarkable happened ; and it is only said of it, that he sometimes played and laughed with his companions, and amused himself with geometry and chemistry on board ship. On arriving off the coast of Corsica, a storm obliged the vessel to enter the port of Ajaccio, his native town, where the reception he met with from his countrymen was precisely such as the eclat of his victories was calculated to procure. At Corsica he learned the extent of the calamities that France had suffered, and again set out for the French coast, of which he was within sight, when the sailors discovered some English ships, amounting to seven sail. The topmasts were lowered with a view to escape observation, and it was proposed to return to Corsica ; but Buonaparte assumed the command, and insisted upon making for the coast of Provence, where he arrived safe, in the midst of an astonished multitude, who refused to credit the fact upon the mere hoisting of his flag at the mast-head, and were only convinced of the reality, when they beheld him in the bosom of their encircling crowds. When the directory at Paris were informed that Buonaparte had landed at Frejus, from Egypt, they made known the general's arrival to the two councils, who received the message with cries of *vive la republique !* The general remained at Frejus only one hour, while a carriage was procured to take him to Paris, and he arrived at the capital on the 16th of October, being hailed on every side, during his journey, with the cry of "peace ! peace !" as if the nation sighed for that blessing only, and expected it at his hands alone.

It is a peculiarity in the history of this extraordinary character, that a great variety of circumstances have always combined to promote his interest upon occasions when it is

extremely probable that his own intrinsic merit would have produced him little or no advantage. The circumstance of his departure from France, with the flower of the army, at a moment when the country was most precariously situated, would, of itself, have marked him out as an object of public resentment at any other time; but the almost total annihilation of that army, and such a loss, aggravated by its abandonment on a distant and inhospitable shore, must have drawn upon him the execrations of every Frenchman, had not France have found herself humbled to the very dust by the terror and apprehensions arising from her situation, internal, as well as external.

In proceeding to sketch the biography of Buonaparte, the rapid succession of important events have not afforded an opportunity of offering to the attention some facts, which, notwithstanding, are necessary to be noticed; they occurred from time to time under various circumstances, and in different situations; and they are now introduced to illustrate the character and conduct of the hero.

It is related, in proof of the liberality of Buonaparte, that when the preliminaries of Leoben were signed, the emperor sent three of the principal nobility of his court as hostages, and that Buonaparte, having invited them to dine with him, said to them on the dessert being brought in, "Gentlemen, you are free.—Tell your master that if his imperial word requires a pledge, you cannot serve as such; and, if it require none, that you ought not."

Buonaparte's impatience of control was often manifested during the period he held his appointment of the directory.—At the time when he commenced the negotiations which were concluded by the peace of Leoben, he had determined not to return to Paris till he might appear there with the double eclat of a conqueror and a pacificator. He remained at the castle of Passeriano, near Udina, and in Italy, till the treaty was signed. He had frequently been recalled by the directory, but he always neglected to notice their orders, and began to shew a degree of hauteur which little corresponded with his former apparent modesty; he refused to accept any generals into his army whom he did not approve, and sent home only so much of the contributions levied in Italy as he thought proper.

During the discussions of Leoben his irritability of tem-

per often shewed itself. He was always treated with the greatest deference by the plenipotentiaries, but he was frequently so much chagrined by the tediousness of German forms, that he behaved to them very cavalierly : finding the first article of the proposed preliminaries to contain an acknowledgment of the French republic, he exclaimed with indignant warmth, " The French republic is like the sun in the firmament, and blind are they who do not acknowledge its splendour." The article was immediately erased. At one time having, upon some account or other, supposed that his colleagues had not treated the republic with sufficient respect, or listened with sufficient attention to his proposals, he took up a china jar, that stood near him, and, dashing it on the ground, exclaimed, " Since you provoke me, thus will I reduce you to powder." The marquis de Gallo conducted himself with the greatest address and prudence, and so much did he *dread* lest the petulance of Buonaparte's temper might put an end to the negociations, that, one day, when the French general had hastily quitted the room in a pet, he ran after him, but not being able to overtake him, said, obsequiously, to one of his aids-de-camp, " Tell him, however, that I followed him to his carriage." Another day, after a very long debate, Buonaparte said with great warmth, " Well then, I will carry my answer to Vienna."

His love of conquest may be observed in the pains that he took, after he had revolutionized Italy, to take possession of the Greek isles that had belonged to the republic of Venice. He sent, from thence, a small fleet with a handful of troops on board, commanded by general Gentili; and his letter to the directory, giving an account of the success of the expedition, contains some curious particulars, and shews, at the same time, how much he was flattered by conquering in the name of the great nation, those inconsiderable islands, which are so celebrated in ancient lore. The following is an extract from his dispatch :

" The 10th Messidor, our troops landed, and were received on shore by an immense crowd of people, who testified their joy by shouts of enthusiasm, such as never fails to animate those who recover their liberty. At the head of the people was their *papa*, or first minister of religion, a well-informed man, and seemingly very old; he came up to

general Gentili, and addressed him in these words—‘Frenchmen, you will find in this island a people extremely ignorant of those arts and sciences which illustrate other nations; but despise them not on that account, they may one day become again what they were before. Learn, in reading this book, to respect them. The general opened the book, with great curiosity, which the *papa* had presented to him, and was not a little surprised to see that it was the *Odyssey* of Homer.—The islands of Zante, Cephalonia, and St. Maure, have expressed the same ardent wishes for liberty, and hope that, under the protection of the great nation, they will recover their long-lost arts, sciences, and commerce.’

The following anecdote has been instanced, as a memorial of Buonaparte’s resentment of an affront. Its authenticity however is dubious. The celebrated singer Marchesi, who resided at Milan, near which place he had some property, was invited by madame Buonaparte to dinner, when he was, no doubt, expected to entertain the company with his charming voice; being a great aristocrat, he refused the invitation; it was repeated, and he refused again; Buonaparte sent his commands for him to attend; he persisted in refusing, and soon after received an order to quit Milan in ten hours. After he set out, he received another message, ordering him to retire to his country-house, about thirty miles from Milan, for six months; he remained there for that time, under a guard of six soldiers, whom he was obliged to maintain at his own expense.

A traveller of unquestionable impartiality (Mr. Holcroft,) who has lately furnished a very interesting work on the state of society and manners at Paris, from his own observations during a residence in that metropolis, and to whom English literature is indebted for several works that will ever be highly esteemed by that part of the public whose admiration of talent and liberality of sentiment are superior to prejudice, has related a fact that cannot better be given than in his own words:

“I occasionally met,” says he, “several Italians (at Paris) most of them people of rank, and some who had been high in office: they all spoke of Buonaparte with bitterness; and related tales, which, if true, would prove him to have

been a treacherous tyrant at the time he began to command in Italy.

“ When Buonaparte first came to Milan, professing himself the deliverer of a once great people, but now and long since miserably enchained by priestcraft and petty despotism, those who earnestly desired the emancipation and the happiness of their country received him with open arms.— One of them, a Milanese nobleman of great influence, devoted his whole means and power to the cause, which he supposed the French sincerely intended to promote ; and, for that purpose, in giving aid to Buonaparte, by whom he was then treated with the most flattering distinction.

“ This nobleman had none but virtuous motives for his conduct ; and he was, too soon, convinced that it was not for the cause of freedom which Buonaparte, and the armies of France fought: the avarice of individuals, the plunder of rich and poor, and the worst of motives, which selfishness, egotism, and national vanity could inspire, were daily more and more apparent.

“ After some reverse of fortune which the French sustained in Italy, Buonaparte once more came to Milan ; and the indignant patriot, instead of again promoting the views of the conqueror, openly upbraided him with his want of good faith, his total dereliction from the cause of freedom, and the atrocities committed or countenanced by him. The affront was unpardonable. To reprove a man who had armies at his command, though it shewed a noble and virtuous fortitude, the loyal Milanese soon found was a fatal step : Buonaparte caused him to be seized, put him under a guard, and sent accusations of him to the directory, accompanied by pretended proofs that he was a traitor to freedom and to France. The end of this tragedy was, the death of the Italian ; he was shot ! and the passions of his enemy were shewn to be dangerous to the present and ominous to the future.

“ This account I had from a man of rank and honour, an Italian, who assured me he absolutely knew all that he had related to be true.

“ The remembrance of the depredations committed by the French, or their chief, in Italy, will not quickly die away.”

Any observation upon this incident would be impertinent.

Buonaparte's journey, on quitting Italy, was marked by some interesting occurrences.

He set out with the simple equipage of a private gentleman, attended by two generals, two aids de-camp, a secretary, and a physician. At Geneva he dined with the French resident, and, having been expected for some time, relays of horses were waiting for him on the road, and immense crowds of people were all in earnest expectation to behold him. At Mondon, where he slept the night before, he had been received with great honours by the celebrated colonel Weiss, the bailiff of the place, a man well known by his political and philosophical writings, by his zeal, and by his profound admiration of Buonaparte. Near Avenche his carriage broke down, and he was obliged to walk for some miles. One among the crowd of spectators who assembled to see him, thus speaks of him :

“ I had an opportunity of being very near to him, and he seemed to me always to be talking to those around him as if he was thinking about something else : he has the mark of great sense in his countenance, and an air of profound meditation, which reveals nothing that is passing within ; he seems constantly big with deep thought, which will, some day or other, influence the destinies of Europe. A burgess of Morat, a man about five feet ten inches high, observed with astonishment the figure of the general. ‘ How small a stature for so great a man ! ’ cried he, loud enough to be heard by one of the aids-de-camp. ‘ He is exactly the height of Alexander,’ said some one. ‘ Yes,’ said the aid-de-camp, ‘ and that is not the only trait of resemblance.’

“ At Faubroun, a little village nine miles from Berne, he supped with a large party, who had, out of curiosity and respect, accompanied his train ; and after that he went on to Soleure. All the towns through which he passed in the night were illuminated. At Basle he stopped some hours, walked round the town, and received a long and fulsome address from the burgomaster. In passing through Lausanne, they had prepared a great fete for him, which he did not seem to enjoy ; three citizens stopped his carriage and presented to him three young women, who repeated some fine complimentary verses, which they had got by heart ; an immense crowd assembled about him, and testified great joy by their shouts and acclamations. He thanked them

with great good humour, but seemed to have more need of sleep than of compliments: he appeared, indeed, every where to shew a profound contempt for popular opinion and popular applause. He spoke very little to strangers through his whole journey, and seemed to be sensible that every word he said would be noted."

The government of Berne had sent a deputy to him at Milan, who accompanied him on his journey, and had a son with him, a boy about thirteen years old, and of very quick parts, much above his age. Buonaparte seemed always very fond of talking to him. He found him one day with a map of Switzerland. "What are you looking at there?" said the general. "Some parts of my own country which I am not acquainted with," replied the youth. "Do you know that part?" said Buonaparte, pointing to Porentrui. "That does not belong to us," replied the youth. "We mean to give it you," returned the general. "And what do you mean to ask in exchange?" said the boy. "Nothing," said Buonaparte, "we will make you a present of it." "Nothing!" returned the youth, thoughtfully. "*Ah! Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.*" Buonaparte immediately turned to his father, and said, "Take care of the boy's education; he will be no common man, some day or other."

When he came near to the little village of Faubroun, which is surrounded with thick fir-trees, he got out of his carriage and walked to the inn, humming the tune of "*Paisible bois.*" He talked very freely with the landlord, and asked him if he paid many taxes? "No," said the man, "we hardly know what they are." "Have you no land of your own?" "Yes, about fifty pounds a year." "Do you pay no taxes for that?" "Yes, the tythes and quit-rent, which are no more than the annual wages of one of my husbandmen; I reckoned that in the expense of working my land, and I paid for it accordingly." "Does your government levy no tax upon the land?" "None." "How then does it pay its expenses?" "With the produce of its domains, which is not only sufficient for the purpose, but leaves a balance every year." "You are very well satisfied with your government then, I suppose?" "And so I ought to be," replied the landlord, "with a government which does great good to the poor and no harm to the rich." "If all this be true," said Buonaparte, turn-

ing to one of his officers, "these are the happiest people in the world."

Buonaparte, after passing through Switzerland, stopped at Rastadt to open the conferences of the congress, and then proceeded on his journey. During his short stay at that place he gave a specimen of what the other powers of Europe had to expect from him and the French republic, by his treatment of count Ferzen, the envoy of Sweden to the congress, a man well known for his attachment to the old court of France and his hatred to the revolution. When he was introduced to him, Buonaparte received him coolly, but with civility, and then asked what minister the court of Sweden had at Paris. To which the count replied, with evident confusion, "None." Buonaparte then expressed his surprise that the king should send a person to meet the plenipotentiaries, who was essentially disagreeable to every French citizen. He remarked, that the king would be much offended if a French minister should be sent to Stockholm, who had endeavoured to excite the people to insurrection; and, by the same rule, the French republic could not suffer his majesty to send men too well known for their attachment to the old court, to face the ministers of the first nation on earth, which well knew how to preserve its dignity. The count retired, much irritated and confused, saying, "he should report to his majesty what he had just heard."

Buonaparte, after his arrival at Paris, shunned every opportunity of being noticed: he lived in a small house and retired street; he received very little company; he avoided all crowded places, and never went out but in a plain carriage with two horses; he dined sometimes with the different ministers of state, and never appeared but twice at any public meeting; in doing this he complied with his natural disposition. He appeared to condemn popular applause, and he avoided giving any offence to the directory, who, before he left Italy, had appointed him to the command of the army of England.

The policy of Buonaparte appears to have been, to gain popularity by seeming to avoid it, by the shew of great moderation, and by a public expression of his aversion to Jacobin principles: he dreaded their power as a party, though, as individuals, they were suited to his purposes.

In every instance where he has had any opportunity, Buonaparte has endeavoured to suppress discussion and freedom of sentiment. The new constitutions of Italy were framed almost entirely by himself, with as little of the popular leaven as possible; all the first legislators and public officers were of his own appointment, and before he left Milan he ordered all the popular societies to be closed. He constantly addressed the military as the guardians and preservers of the different constitutions he had established. The treaty of peace was entirely his own framing, and he is said to have advised the directory to diminish the force of the coalition by making separate treaties with the allied powers; he advised also, that moderate conditions should be granted to the emperor in order to induce the other powers to treat, when they saw that, even when vanquished, he was not oppressed.

The ceremony of his presentation to the directory, when he arrived from Italy, was attended with every degree of splendour and parade. They were about to receive a general, who, by his prowess and talents, had vanquished the most formidable armies ever sent into the field against France; and who had preserved the independence and extended the power of the country against a confederacy formed for the utter destruction of its glory.

The great court of the Luxembourg was the place chosen for this superb spectacle; it was covered with an immense awning, and the walls were decorated with hangings of the national colours and military trophies; at one end was an altar surmounted with statues of liberty, equality and peace, and ornamented with the different standards which had been taken from the enemy; on each side of the altar were seats in a semicircular form, composing a vast amphitheatre, and destined for the constituted authorities and the conservatory of music; from the walls were suspended the colours of the different armies of the republic; an immense crowd lined the court and windows of the palace, and all the neighbouring streets were filled with those who could not gain admittance within; the air perpetually resounded with their acclamations and shouts of joy.

At twelve o'clock at noon the sound of cannon announced the commencement of the fete, and the procession, which consisted of the directory, the ministers of state, and con-

stituted authorities, began to move from their different places of meeting towards the Luxembourg; after they had arrived, and were all seated, the president of the directory gave orders to inform the foreign ministers, the minister of war, and the generals Buonaparte, Joubert, and Andreossi, that the directory were ready to receive them. The conservatory of music began a beautiful symphony, which was soon interrupted by the sounds of repeated shouts, rending the air with "Long live the republic!"—"Long live Buonaparte!"—"Long live the great nation!" The noise continued to increase, the crowd kept pressing forward, every eye sparkled with expectation and curiosity, and turned towards the great door: *Buonaparte entered!* the enthusiasm of the people increased, not a single person was silent, but all cried out, with one impulse and with one accord, "The deliverer of Italy!"—"The pacificator of the continent."

Buonaparte now advanced with calmness and dignity. It was the most sublime moment that a mortal could experience; the greatest trial to the feelings of a man; yet he shewed the same coolness he had done in the midst of battle. He was accompanied by the minister of foreign relations, the minister at war, and his aids-de-camp: the music played the hymn to liberty, and every one stood up uncovered. When he had arrived at the steps of the altar he was presented to the directory by Talleyrand, in a speech suited to the occasion: after it was finished, all seemed eager to hear the conqueror of Italy, the simplicity and modesty of whose appearance formed a fine contrast to the grandeur of his situation, and every one present figured him at the bridge of Lodi, at Arcola, or Campo Formio. A profound silence immediately took place while Buonaparte presented to the president of the directory the emperor's ratification of the treaty, and spoke as follows:

"Citizen directors—The French people, in order to be free, had to combat with kings; to obtain a constitution founded upon reason, they had to vanquish the prejudices of eighteen centuries. The constitution of the third year, and you, have triumphed over all obstacles. Religion, feudalism, and royalty, have successively governed Europe; but, the peace which you have concluded dates the æra of representative governments. You have organized the great nation, whose vast territory is circumscribed only by the

limits which nature herself hath placed. You have done more. The two most beautiful parts of Europe, formerly so celebrated for the arts, the sciences, and the great men which they produced, see, with renovated hope, the genius of liberty rise from the tombs of their ancestors. These are the two pedestals on which the destinies have placed other nations. I have the honour to present the treaty signed at Campo Formio, and ratified by his imperial majesty. Peace gives the earnest of liberty, prosperity and glory to the republic. When the happiness of the French people shall rest on well-formed organic laws, all Europe will become free."

The hero had scarcely finished, when shouts of acclamation on all sides seemed to reach the clouds. "Long live the republic!"—"Long live Buonaparte!" were the general cry. The president answered him in a very long speech, and afterwards gave him the fraternal embrace, in which he was followed by the other members of the directory, and witnessed with great emotion by all present. Buonaparte descended from the altar, and the minister of foreign relations conducted him to an arm-chair which was prepared for him before the diplomatic body. The conservatory of music then performed the *Chant du Retour*, the words by Chenier, and the music by Mehul. The other generals were then presented, in turn, and received, and returned addresses suitable to the occasion; after which they took their different seats, prepared for them in front of Buonaparte, and the music played the *Chant du Depart*. The directors then dissolved the sitting and returned to their palace with the rest of the procession. The spectators saluted Buonaparte with the same acclamations at his departure as at his entrance. A magnificent dinner was given at the Luxembourg to the general, and an immense number of civil and military officers; the evening concluded with a ball at the house of the minister of the interior, and thus ended this august ceremony.

Buonaparte at all times affected the character of a man of science and a lover of letters; there can be no stronger proof of it than his placing the title, member of the national institute, before that of general. At a literary dinner, given by Francois de Neufchateau, he pretended to converse with every scientific man in his own line; with Lagrange and

La Place he talked of mathematics ; with Sieyes of metaphysics ; of poetry with Chenier ; of politics with Gallois, and with Daunou of legislation and public law. He affected in Italy to be the patron of letters, but it does not appear that they flourished much under his protection. The day after his nomination to be a member of the institute in the class of mechanics, he addressed a letter to Camus, the president, in which are the same appearance of modesty, and the same respect for literature which he had formerly shewn.

“CITIZEN PRESIDENT,

“The good opinion of the distinguished men who compose the national institute does me the highest honour. I perceive, that, before I become their equal, I must be a long time their scholar. If I knew one method more expressive than another of testifying my esteem for them, I should employ it. The only true conquests, and those which leave no regret, are those which we gain over ignorance. The most honourable and the most useful of all employments is to extend the bounds of human knowledge. The true power of the French republic ought, henceforth, to consist in appropriating to itself every great discovery.

(Signed)

BUONAPARTE.”

The fetes and dinners which were given to Buonaparte, were, many of them, shared by his wife, particularly the balls ; he constantly attended her to the latter, and shewed her every external mark of respect. The simplicity of his dress and manner seemed pointedly to indicate his real grandeur and superiority ; for, where every one else was superbly dressed, in order to do him honour, he himself always appeared in a plain coat and without powder.

The ceremony of his installation at the national institute was intended to be kept entirely private ; yet, as the day was publicly known, the room was crowded as soon as it was opened ; for wherever he could be seen he was never without a crowd. At five o'clock the members all took their places, Buonaparte among the rest, in a plain grey frock, the dress he generally appeared in ; there was nothing particular, therefore, to point out the man who had so lately conquered so many armies, overturned so many states, and created so many new ones. Neither his stature, his manners, nor his dress, distinguished him from the crowd ; and

yet, from the great eclat of his name, he attracted the notice of every one present : the moment he was discovered, the room rung with applauses, which were repeated whenever any allusion to him occurred in any of the speeches, or any thing which could be applied to the hero of France. It is worthy of remark, that Buonaparte was elected in the room of his friend Carnot, who had been lately banished.

In 1797, he appeared at the anniversary of the 21st of January, and there he seemed ashamed of his company ; he was seated among the members of the national institute as a private individual, and took so much pains to conceal himself, by hanging down his head, and drawing himself together, that he was not perceived till the ceremony was nearly concluded. He was then cheered with loud and repeated applauses.

The marks of public favour, which Buonaparte always received from the Parisians, must have been, in some degree, pleasing to his mind, and have inspired him with an additional confidence in any plans that he might have formed against the government. But, if he had indulged such views then, there is ground to think that he was not at ease, for his schemes were not sufficiently matured to be acted upon ; and Carnot has declared, that the directory dreaded and wished to destroy him ;—of this Buonaparte was aware, and he secretly despised them as men and envied them as rulers. Paris was not, therefore, a place in which he could long remain in safety, if even his energetic mind could have concealed its disgust ; besides, his policy required that he should appear at Paris in the character only of a private citizen. To conform to the level of the Merlins, the Frérons, and of the literary horde, and to feel himself no more than an equal of journalists, and pamphleteers, and lecturers—the sycophants of the directory, the panders of the people, and the quacks of science—to reduce himself to such an equality, and, worst of all, to be in their power, was degrading and humiliating in the extreme, to him, who had over-ran Italy, at the head of the troops of the republic, who, when with the army, was without a superior and without a rival.

CHAPTER XVI.

NOTWITHSTANDING the diffidence with which Buona-parte seemed to receive the honours that were lavished upon him at different times; and, although the literati had adopted him, and conferred upon him the distinctions which they had at their command, several men of letters ridiculed those *savans* who accompanied him to Egypt. Amongst others, Richard Serizy declaims, in the *Accusateur Publique*, in the following terms :

“ What can we think of those pretended learned men, knowing hardly the alphabet of common sense ; of those lamps of the institute ! who, thinking they were called upon to complete those high and mysterious destinies, forgetting the unhappy fate of Pharaoh’s conjurors, set off, with empty purses, in company of the modern Jason, to search, first, for the golden fleece ; then, to dazzle Asia with their talents ; next, to build a fourth pyramid, in addition to the three extant, that their great deeds might be transmitted to posterity ; and, lastly, to rebuild, most assuredly, in fifteen days, the twenty-two thousand cities of old Egypt : to reinstate the lake Meris, and again to set up the bull Apis ! ”

And, again, he says :

“ If I wish to find out the utility of such an extravagant undertaking, I only see the chimerical project of spreading the revolution all over Asia. Who can be ignorant, that the climate, the fanaticism, the customs and manners, render the eastern nations quite averse to our manners and customs ; that it would require an infinite time, immense sums of money, the philosopher’s stone, to give life again and to reunite the dust of the wonderful Memphis, scattered and dispersed so many centuries ago ? What advantage can we reap from having Cairo and being deprived of forty thousand men in our armies ? But, they say, that, in time, it will prove an excellent colony to us : Would it not, then, have been much better to have taken care of ours, so valuable, so fruitful, so populous, rather than to invade a country, which we cannot keep long, and instead of abandoning real comforts of life for illusive hopes ? Who does not see, that the British government has so well calculated upon the extravagance of such an enterprise, that it seems to have been

their wish that our army should land, unmolested, on those distant and barren shores? Indeed, one would be apt to believe it, when it was well known, that admiral Nelson was before Alexandria three days before the arrival of Buonaparte! and, in fact, why has he not waited for him? how has he missed him at sea? The landing of our army in Egypt, did it not offer to the enemy the considerable advantage of removing the dangers which threatened England, of lessening our strength upon the continent, and of engaging, at last, the Ottoman Porte (the dupe of her good faith, and too faithful to her engagements) to side with the coalition against the destroyers of men?

“And what shall we think of the new-fashioned general, who in order to succeed in his undertaking, acts the part of Alexander, takes folly for heroism, puts, gravely, a conjuror’s book in his pocket, provides himself with orvietan, with phosphorus, with inflammable air, with stuffed serpents, taken from the cabinet of natural history, in order to put them under Pompey’s pillar, imitating thereby the serpent of Appollonius and Epidaurus; makes the Egyptians believe that he is a god, and persuades the Parisians that the terrible and memorable battle of Chebreisse is the battle of Abelles?”

Carnot in his pamphlet, published nearly a month before Buonaparte’s departure for Egypt, complains of his *ingratitude* towards himself, to whom he owed much obligation for his elevation to the command of the army of Italy:

“I was so persuaded,” says he, “that it was impossible that Buonaparte had contributed to my proscription, that, when he passed, on his way to Rastadt, through a small town, where I was for a short time, I was on the point of sending him a note, in order to ask of him a momentary interview; and, if I did not do it, it was, because I feared that I might put him to some trouble; for I had never entertained the smallest doubt about his generosity. I then let him pass, and illuminated my windows, as did all the inhabitants, reflecting, in the gayest humour, on the whimsical destinies of mankind. A few days afterwards I felt extremely happy in having acted as I did; when I heard, that, at Geneva, Buonaparte had put under confinement a banker, called Bontems, only because he was suspected to have taken me from Paris to Geneva, after the 18th Fructi-

dor, in order to rescue me from the pursuits of the directory, who sent out whole battalions and artillery to find me, in the neighbourhood of Paris. The suspicion was unfounded; I had never seen Bontems in Paris, and it was not to him that I owed the obligation to have taken me out of the frontiers: the unhappy man remained, however, several months in prison! Such is the account I heard from many persons, who had seen him at Geneva, and who had heard him mention the fact; adding, that Buonaparte was excessively angry, and made him the most violent threats."

Carnot, elsewhere, expresses himself very indignantly at the behaviour of Buonaparte toward him.

He that is remarkable for having achieved any great actions will have many friends, from admiration, who will panegyryze him for virtues that he never possessed; and many enemies, from envy, who will sully his reputation by enumerating crimes that he never committed. The one will extol him as the *most* perfect, the other will execrate him as the *most* depraved character: the attributes which each will ascribe to him are superlative, and they will not be satisfied with any opinion that may be formed of him that does not either represent him as a demi-god or a demon.—“All or nothing!” is their cry—not as he is, but as they wish him to be, is their picture; so, that, if the good qualifications of the individual be merely moderate, they will be magnified to perfection by his friends; and his vices and his follies, however venial, will be so exaggerated by his enemies, that, if he had the most sincere disposition to repair his faults, “detraction will not let him” even acknowledge them, for fear of the evil appearance that malice would give to his first step towards reform. Unfortunately, these partialities are so well adapted to their object—the concealment of truth—that an honest enquirer is often deceived, and, as often as he discovers the error, is disgusted; whilst an acute inquirer has not always the means of detecting the fabrication, and is himself deluded into a belief of it. The motive, however, once ascertained, the mystery is unravelled.

These observations will apply particularly to Buonaparte: his publicity has occasioned curiosity; and as the curious are always credulous, every tale that has been related of him has met at least with some believers. Nor have tales been

wanting to gratify the fondness of his friends and the hatred of his enemies ; stories have been so ingeniously manufactured that the discovery of some of them has destroyed the credibility even of facts, and induced a rejection of those ordinary circumstances of evidence with which the mind would have, otherwise, been contented. Fact and fiction, being, therefore, of so near a semblance, the opinions of honest and impartial men have been, in general, suspended upon those statements which are now submitted to the consideration of unprejudiced minds.

An act of very barbarous cruelty is attributed to Buonaparte, in a letter, to be found in M. Peltier's " Paris," vol. ix. p. 771. The writer proceeds as follows :

" I say, and it is what twenty thousand men know, without daring to say it ; I say, that, in no age, and under no tyrant, have crimes more enormous been committed than those which are daily committed under the direction and authority of Buonaparte ! Will it be credited, that, in the hospitals appropriated to the sick and wounded, the surgeons devoted to Buonaparte have a constant order, as soon as they see a sick soldier past recovery, or one whose incurable wounds will render him no longer of use to the service, to set a mark upon his bed, which fatal mark announces to the attendants, that this victim is to be carried away with the dead ; he is, accordingly, thrown into a waggon, appointed to remove the dead bodies to the grave, and he is generally strangled or smothered : but, notwithstanding these precautions, as the carriages move along to the place of interment, the cries and groans of the unfortunate men, who are on the point of being buried alive, may be distinctly heard ! To this horrible fact I have myself been a witness, as well as to what I am going to relate :

" In the month of July, 1797, after an action, which took place near Salo, on the Lac de Guarda, Buonaparte gave orders, that not only the dead, but the dying and wounded, should be buried ! The wretched victims were placed upon five waggons, and, at midnight, were dragged to an enormous ditch, and precipitated in it. The cries of the living being distinctly heard, the monsters threw down eight loads of burning lime upon them, which, falling upon the undressed wounds of the poor victims, made them send forth such piercing cries, that the virtuous curate of Salo, seized

with horror at the transaction, died, in consequence of the fright !

“ To these atrocities I have been an eye-witness, and I denounce them to all men and to all ages. If the directory wish to be satisfied of the truth of my assertions, they have it in their power. I do not sign my name to this letter, as I do not wish to be assassinated before the examination of the crimes I have denounced can take place. I call upon the directory to verify the facts, and, when this is done, I will immediately present myself before them as a witness : in the mean time I shall discover myself to REWBELL.”

Sir Robert Wilson, an English officer, in a work published during the peace, relating to the operations of the French in Egypt, relates some circumstances of atrocity, which are introduced by the following remarks, in the preface of his book.

“ To those who may imagine that my representations of general Buonaparte’s conduct, in the several instances referred to, are imprudent and improper, at this moment, to be brought forward, I must premise ; that, if they are concerned only for the character of that general, I am happy to afford them an occasion to be better acquainted with this celebrated man, who, by his great fortune and uninterrupted career of victory, (with one exception of Acre, that glorious monument of British conduct !) has dazzled the understandings of the mass of mankind, and prevented the results of those inquiries having proper influence which those with whom the opinions of the day do not pass current, have instituted on his pretensions to the admiration of posterity.

“ To those, whose motives of disapprobation proceed from a regard to tranquillity, exciting the wish that a general amnesty of oblivion might be extended to the past ; first, I will say, that the dissemination of this principle would tend to produce more wickedness in the world than has ever been yet committed ; for what is there to intimidate ambition, in full possession of power, but the pen of the historian ? What can guarantee mankind from the atrocities of a licentious despotism, but an assurance, that the memory of great crimes is perpetuated in the records of history ?

“ If the charges are not founded, the man yet lives to exonerate his injured character : if he cannot refute them, then must he sink into his grave loaded with the heavy weight of

such offences, and the miserable prescience, that execration shall attach to his memory, instead of the fame he coveted ; that, on his cenotaph posterity will inscribe :

*" Ille venena Colchica et quidquid
Unquam concipitur nefas tractavit."—*

" General.Hutchinson," says sir R. Wilson, " was very angry with the Turks for still continuing the practice of mangling and cutting off the heads of the prisoners ; and the captain pacha, at his remonstrance, again issued very severe orders against it ; but the Turks justified themselves for the massacre of the French by the massacre at Jaffa.— As this act and the poisoning of the sick have never been credited, because of such enormities being so incredibly atrocious, a digression, to authenticate them, may not be deemed intrusively tedious ; and, had not the influence of power interfered, the act of accusation would have been preferred in a more solemn manner, and the damning proofs produced, by penitent agents of these murders ; but neither menaces nor promises can, altogether, stifle the cries of outraged humanity, and the day for retribution of justice is only delayed.

" Buonaparte having carried the town of Jaffa by assault, many of the garrison were put to the sword ; but the greater part flying into the mosques, and imploring mercy from their pursuers, were granted their lives ; and, let it be well remembered, that an exasperated army, in the moment of revenge, when the laws of war justified the rage, yet heard the voice of pity, received its impression, and proudly refused to be any longer the executioners of an unresisting enemy. Soldiers of the Italian army ! this is a laurel wreath worthy of your fame, a trophy, of which the subsequent treason of an individual shall not deprive you.

" Three days afterwards, Buonaparte who had expressed much resentment at the compassion manifested by his troops, and determined to relieve himself from the maintenance and care of three thousand eight hundred prisoners,* order-

* " Buonaparte had, in person, previously inspected the whole body, amounting to near 5,000 men, with the object of saving those who belonged to the towns he was preparing to attack. The age and noble physiognomy of a veteran janizary, attracted his observation ; and he asked him, sharply, " Old man ! what did you here ? " The janizary, undaunted, replied, " I must answer that question by asking you the same : your answer will be, That you came to serve your sultan ; so did I mine." The in-

ed them to be marched to a rising ground, near Jaffa, where a division of French infantry formed against them. When the Turks had entered into their fatal alignment, and the mournful preparations were completed, the signal-gun fired. Volleys of musketry and grape instantly played against them; and Buonaparte, who had been regarding the scene through a telescope, when he saw the smoke ascending, could not restrain his joy, but broke out into exclamations of approval; indeed, he had just reason to dread the refusal of his troops thus to dishonour themselves. Kleber had remonstrated in the most strenuous manner, and the officer of the *etat-major*, who commanded, (for the general to whom the division belonged was absent,) even refused to execute the order without a written instruction; but Buonaparte was too cautious, and sent Berthier to enforce obedience.

“When the Turks had all fallen, the French troops humanely endeavoured to put a period to the sufferings of the wounded; but some time elapsed before the bayonet could finish what the fire had not destroyed, and, probably, many languished days in agony. Several French officers, by whom these details are partly furnished, declared, that this was a scene, the retrospect of which tormented their recollection, and that they could not reflect on it without horror, accustomed as they had been to sights of cruelty.

“These were the prisoners whom Assalini, in his very able work on the plague, alludes to, when he says, that for three days the Turks shewed no symptoms of that disease, and it was their putrifying remains which contributed to produce the pestilential malady, which he describes as afterwards making such ravages in the French army.

“The bones still lie in heaps, and are shewn to every traveller who arrives; nor can they be confounded with those who perished in the assault, since this field of butchery lies a mile from the town.

“Such a fact should not, however, be alleged without some proof or leading circumstance, stronger than assertion, being produced to support it: but there would be a want of generosity in naming individuals, and branding them to

trepid frankness of the reply excited universal interest in his favour. Buonaparte even smiled! “He is saved!” whispered some of the *aids-de-camp*. “You know not Buonaparte,” observed one, who had served with him in Italy: “that smile (I speak from experience) does not proceed from the sentiment of benevolence: remember what I say.” The opinion was too true. The janizary was left in the ranks, doomed to death, and suffered!

the latest posterity with infamy, for obeying a command, when their submission became an act of necessity, since the whole army did not mutiny against the execution; therefore, to establish further the authenticity of the relation, this only can be mentioned, that it was Bon's division which fired; and thus every one is afforded the opportunity of satisfying himself respecting the truth, by inquiring of officers serving in the different brigades composing this division.

"The next circumstance is of a nature which requires, indeed, the most particular details to establish; since the idea can scarce be entertained, that the commander of an army should order his own countrymen (or, if not immediately such, those amongst whom he had been naturalized) to be deprived of existence, when in a state which required the kindest consideration. But the annals of France record the frightful crimes of a Robespierre, a Carrier, and historical truth must now recite one equal to any which has blackened its page.

"Buonaparte, finding that his hospitals at Jaffa were crowded with sick, sent for a physician, whose name should be inscribed in letters of gold, but which, from important reasons, cannot be here inserted; on his arrival, he entered into a long conversation with him respecting the danger of contagion; concluding, at last, with the remark, that something must be done to remedy the evil, and that the destruction of the sick at present in the hospital was the only measure which could be adopted. The physician, alarmed at the proposal, bold in the confidence of virtue and the cause of humanity, remonstrated vehemently, representing the cruelty as well as the atrocity of such a murder; but, finding that Buonaparte persevered and menaced, he indignantly left the tent, with this memorable observation: 'Neither my principles, nor the character of my profession, will allow me to become a murderer; and, general! if such qualities as you insinuate are necessary to form a great man, I thank my God that I do not possess them.'

"Buonaparte was not to be diverted from his object by moral considerations; he persevered, and found an apothecary, who (dreading the weight of power, but who since has made an atonement to his mind by unequivocally confessing the fact) consented to become his agent, and ad-

minister poison to the sick. Opium, at night, was distributed, in gratifying food; the wretched unsuspecting victims banqueted, and in a few hours 580 soldiers, who had suffered so much for their country, perished thus miserably, by the order of its idol.

“Is there a Frenchman whose blood does not chill with horror at the recital of such a fact? Surely the names of these murdered unoffending people must be now hovering round the seat of government: and

“If a doubt should still exist as to the veracity of this statement, let the members of the institute at Cairo be asked what passed in their sitting after the return of Buonaparte from Syria: they will relate, that the same virtuous physician, who refused to become the destroyer of those committed to his protection, accused Buonaparte of high treason in the full assembly, against the honour of France, her children, and humanity; that he entered into the full details of the poisoning of the sick, and the massacre of the garrison, aggravating these crimes by charging Buonaparte with strangling, previously, at Rosetta, a number of French and Copts, who were ill of the plague; thus proving that this disposal of the sick was a premeditated plan, which he wished to introduce into general practice. In vain Buonaparte attempted to justify himself; the members sat petrified with terror, and almost doubted whether the scene passing before their eyes was not illusion.

“Buonaparte pleaded, that he ordered the garrison to be destroyed, because he had not provisions to maintain them, or strength enough to guard them; and that it was evident, if they escaped, they would act against the French, since amongst the prisoners were 500 of the garrison of El-Arish, who had promised not to serve again (they had been compelled, in passing through Jaffa, by the commandant, to serve); and that he destroyed the sick to prevent contagion, and save themselves from falling into the hands of the Turks; but these arguments, however specious, were refuted directly, and Buonaparte was, at last, obliged to rest his defence on the positions of Machiavel. When he afterwards left Egypt, the savans were so angry at being left behind, contrary to promise, that they elected the physician president of the institute; an act which spoke for itself fully.

“Assuredly all these proceedings will not be found in the minutes of the institute; no, Buonaparte’s policy foresaw the danger, and power produced the erasure; but let no man, calculating on the force of circumstances which may prevent such an avowal as is solicited, presume on this to deny the whole; there are records which remain, and which in due season, will be produced. In the interim, this representation will be sufficient to stimulate enquiry; and, Frenchmen, your honour is indeed interested in the examination.

“Let us hope also, that in no country will there be found another man of such Machiavelian principles, as by sophistry to palliate those transactions; nor must the judgment abuse itself by bringing to recollection the horrors of the French revolution, and thus diminishing the force of those crimes by the frequency of equal guilt in France during her contest for *liberty* or *slavery*.”

In addition to the statement of sir R. Wilson, doctor Wittman, who was physician to the British military mission, which accompanied the army of the grand vizier, in a work printed subsequent to sir R. Wilson’s, says, that, “Four thousand of the wretched inhabitants *who had surrendered, and who had in vain implored the mercy of their conquerors*, were, together with a part of the late Turkish garrison of El-Arish, (amounting, it has been said, to five or six hundred,) dragged out, in cold blood, four days after the French had obtained possession of Jaffa, to the sand-hills, about a league distant, in the way to Gaza, *and there most inhumanly put to death*. *I have seen* the skeletons of those unfortunate victims, which lie scattered over the hills—a modern Golgotha, which remains a lasting disgrace to a nation calling itself civilized. Indeed I am sorry to add, that the charge of *cruelty* against the French general Buonaparte, does not rest here. It having been reported, that, previously to the retreat of the French army from Syria, their commander in chief, Buonaparte, *had ordered all the sick at Jaffa* to be poisoned, I was led to make the inquiry, to which every one who had visited the spot would naturally be directed, respecting an act of such singular, and it should seem, wanton inhumanity. It concerns me to have to state, *not only that such a circumstance was positively asserted to have happened*, but, that while in Egypt,

an individual was pointed out to us as having been the executioner of these diabolical commands."

General Andreossi, the ambassador of Buonaparte at the court of Great Britain, complained to lord Hawkesbury of these statements. Sir Robert Wilson being informed of general Andreossi's complaint, wrote the following letters to the editors of the public papers :

" In the official correspondence lately published, there appear some remarks which the French ambassador was instructed to make on my history of the British expedition to Egypt, and of which I feel called upon to take notice, not in personal controversy with general Andreossi, for, conscious of the superior virtue of my cause, I feel myself neither aggrieved nor irritated by the language he has used, but that the public may not attribute my silence to a desire of evading further discussion, and thus the shallow mode of contradiction adopted by the *chief consul* acquire an unmerited consideration.

" The ambassador observes, ' That a colonel in the English army has published a work in England, filled with the most atrocious and disgusting calumnies, against the French army and its general. The lies it contains have been contradicted by the reception which *colonel Sebastiani* experienced. The publicity of his Report was at once a refutation and reparation which the French army had a right to expect.'

" But surely a new signification must have been attached in France to the word *calumny*, when such a term is applied to my account of the conduct of the French troops in Egypt, and the consequent disposition of the inhabitants towards them !

" Independent, however of the proofs to be adduced in corroboration of my statement, Europe may justly appreciate the probable truth of what I have written, when she recollects the unparalleled sufferings endured by the unoffending countries into which, during the last war, a French army penetrated ! and she will, at least, hesitate to believe, that, the *same* armies should voluntarily ameliorate their conduct in a country more remote, where the atrocities they might commit would be less liable to publicity, and that this extraordinary change should be in favour of a people whose

principles and resistance might have excited the resentment of more generous invaders !

“ I will not enter into any unnecessary detail of the numerous facts, which I could urge ; but I appeal to the honour of every British officer employed in Egypt, whether those observations are not sacredly true, which describe the French as being hateful to the inhabitants of that country, who represent them as having merited that hatred from the *ruin and devastation with which their progress through it has been marked ?* and I am ready, if there be one who refuses to sanction this relation, to resign for ever every pretension to honourable reputation, and submit, without a further struggle, to that odium which would attach to calumny and a wilful perversion of truth.

“ But I feel confident, there is no individual who will not amply confirm all that I have written on the subject ; and perhaps Europe has a right to condemn me, for not having made the accusations still stronger, when I can produce frequent general orders of the French army, for the destruction of villages, and their inhabitants ; when I can prove, that, above forty thousand of the natives perished by the swords of the French soldiery ; and that every act of violence was committed, and particularly in Upper Egypt, which could outrage humanity, and disgrace civilized nations ! When writing a history of the campaign, was it possible not to express indignation against the authors of such calamities ? Would it have been natural not to have felt the animation of that virtuous pride, which reflection on the different conduct of the British soldiery must inspire in the heart of every Briton ? I have asserted that a British soldier could traverse alone through any part of Egypt, or even penetrate into the desert, secure from injury or insult. I have described the natives, as considering the British their benefactors and protectors, soliciting opportunities to manifest their gratitude, and esteeming their uniform as sacred as the turban of Mahometanism ; and I may venture to predict, that hereafter, the French traveller will be compelled to conceal the name of his nation, and owe his security to the assumption of a British character !

“ But does the effect of colonel Sebastiani's Report justify the chief consul's conclusion, ‘ that it is a complete refutation of what I have advanced,’ even if we attach to that

Report implicit belief in its candour and veracity? Is it possible that the chief consul can suppose the world will trace respect for the French name in the circumstance which occurred to colonel Sebastiani at Cairo, and which rendered it necessary for him to demand protection from the vizier? * or, would he imagine, that the apologue of Dgezzar pacha was not intelligible, even previous to the instructions being published, which M. Talleyrand transmitted to the French commercial agents?

“That illustrious senator, to whose virtues and stupendous talents England owes so much of her prosperity, has declared, that this report of colonel Sebastiani in no case contradicts my statement: and I should consider that high opinion as amply sufficient to remove any impression which the French ambassador’s note might, otherwise, have made, did I not think it a duty to press some observations on that part of the paragraph which alludes to the direct accusation against general Buonaparte, that the public may know I was fully aware of the important responsibility which I had voluntarily undertaken, and in which much national honour was involved. I would wish the world seriously to examine, whether the accuser or accused has shrunk from the investigation, and then hold him as guilty who has withdrawn from the tribunal of enquiry.

“I avowed that I was his public accuser: I stood prepared to support the charges. The courts of my country were open to that mode of trial, which, as an honest man, he could alone have required, but of which he did not dare to avail himself. It was no anonymous libeller against whom he was to have filed his answer, but against one (and with-

* “Mustapha Oukil, one of the chiefs of the city, passed before me on horseback in passing, he reproached my guides with marching before a christian, and above all before a Frenchman! and menaced them with the bastinado after my departure. could not be silent under such an insult, and, upon my return, I sent citizen Joubert to the pacha, to make my complaint, and demand a prompt redress. I declared to him, ‘that I expected this man would come publicly to me to ask my pardon, place himself at my disposal, and implore my pity!’ He found that Mustapha was greatly protected by the pacha, and wanted to arrange it otherwise; but I persisted, by declaring formally to the pacha, ‘that if this reparation was not made in the manner which I demanded it, I should instantly depart and immediately write to Paris and Constantinople to state my complaints.’ This declaration produced all the effect which I expected, and Mustapha, alarmed, came, on the following day, to me, conducted by Rosetti, and he, publicly asked my pardon, and put himself at my disposal. I told him, ‘that my first intention had been to cut off his head, and that I only gave him his life at the solicitations of the pacha and M. Rosetti; but if, in future, he should ever insult the French, or those in their suite, his destruction would be inevitable.’ The affair, which was instantly spread throughout the whole city, produced the best effect.”

out any indecent vanity I may say it) whose rank and character would have justified his most serious attention.

“The charges were too awful to be treated with neglect, and we know that they have not been read with indifference. Nor is it possible that the first consul can imagine the fame of general Buonaparte is less sullied, because a few snuff-boxes, bearing his portrait, were received by some timid or avaricious individuals with expressions of esteem: or, can he hope, that the contemptible, but not less unworthy, insinuation, directed against the gallant and inestimable British general, will divert mankind from a reflection on the crimes with which he stands arraigned?

“Those crimes were so enormous, as, from their magnitude, to stagger belief; and, notwithstanding the irrefragable evidence of their commission, the mind still disposed itself rather to receive the impression of astonishment than conviction; but, at length, this sentiment is overpowered by the weight of guilt; and the name of Jaffa, echoed by the Turks to inspire feelings of indignation and revenge, is no longer heard in Europe without emotions of horror. Sebastiani himself recoiled at the recollection, and fled from his place of terror, preferring to increase the presumptive proofs against his master rather than to visit a spot so polluted by his infamy, or hazard the effects of that resentment which a justifiable vengeance might have inflicted on the favourite.

“Fortunately for Europe, she has become more intimately acquainted with the principles of this hitherto misconceived man; and I confess that it gives me considerable gratification to indulge the thought, that I have contributed to their development.

“Success may, for inscrutable purposes, continue to attend him; abject senates may decree him a throne or the antheon; but history shall render injured humanity justice.”

But if the reputation of Buonaparte was forcibly assailed by an English officer, there were English writers who eagerly defended him. It may be proper to select the sentiments of one of them, as a specimen of the manner in which the defence was conducted. The annual review for 1803, edited by ARTHUR AIKIN, observes thus:

“In the late war, and in the present, the British minis-

try has been loudly accused of participating in and encouraging those plans of assassination which have been directed against the person of the chief magistrate (Buonaparte at that time was first consul) of France. Let the ministry, if they can with truth, vindicate themselves from so black a charge, by a solemn and authentic disavowal; and let the British public shew the high honour and intrepid courage for which they have long been renowned, by consigning to merited contempt and abhorrence all works, together with their authors, whose direct tendency is to degrade the generous and high-spirited patriot into the lurking assassin."

Respecting the Turks, who were thus slain, it should be candidly stated, that Buonaparte had, formerly, given them their liberty, *on condition* that they would not again serve against the French; whilst, on the other hand, it should be recollected, that, if they had not obeyed the commands of the pacha, by violating the terms of the capitulation, they would have been slaughtered for disobedience of orders by their own countrymen. It would, however, have been honourable to Buonaparte if he had considered this circumstance before he ordered such an immense number of men to be indiscriminately put to death.—Such actions as this stain the character of the soldier, and render the hero a destroyer. Purity of principle is obscured by the inflexible and unmitigated execution of sanguinary purposes, even though intended for example.—The laws of Draco were not the more just because their penalties were bloody.

The assertion, that Buonaparte ordered poison to be administered in the hospitals to his own sick soldiers, seems destitute of that proof which is essential to its authenticity. Dr. Desgenette, the physician general to the army, the person alluded to as having received these orders, and *refused* to execute them, in his *Histoire Medicale de l'Armée d'Orient*, p. 49, 50, expressly declares, "that the general in chief showed the utmost attention and tenderness to the soldiers afflicted with the plague, visited them in person whilst confined by that dreadful malady, and even assisted in the most menial offices for their relief."

CHAPTER XVII.

INSURRECTION blazed in the southern and western departments of France, clubs of the jacobins were formed in the capital, and general Jourdan had proposed a decree, in the council of five hundred, once more declaring "the country in danger;" when Buonaparte, unexpectedly, arrived at Paris.

The news flew round the city with the rapidity of lightning: the Parisians eagerly thronged to behold the "conqueror of Egypt;" they surrounded him, and each seemed more desirous than the other of welcoming his return. His manners appeared more affable than they were before he quitted France: he spoke freely to the people, and shook several soldiers by the hand who had served with him in Italy. His complexion, bronzed by the Egyptian suns, and his hair, cut short and without powder, gave him an appearance of greater manliness and strength than were observable in him previous to his leaving Europe. He was out of uniform, and wore a grey riding-coat, with a silk scarf over his shoulder suspending a Turkish sabre. He passed along the courts and streets leading to the Luxembourg amidst the acclamations of the populace, and immediately had a private audience of the directory.

Sieyes the director had long foreseen the consequences which were likely to result from the imbecility of the government, the energy of the factions, and the anarchy of the people; he saw, that, if means were not adopted to render the executive power sufficiently strong to be feared, that it would not be respected. He despised each of his colleagues, and only one of them had his confidence: this was Roger Ducos, who looked up to Sieyes as an oracle, and attached himself to him, because he had just foresight to perceive, that, if the directory fell, Sieyes alone was capable of saving himself from the contempt of the people: to Sieyes, then, Ducos had allied his own fortune, and he was completely the disciple of his brother director.

Sieyes disclosed to Ducos his intention of calling in the aid of one of the generals, to save the republic and themselves by overthrowing the directory: he was secretly pleased at that joy of the people, on the arrival of their favourite,

which alarmed the other directors ; he welcomed him to his apartments in the Luxembourg, disclosed to him his project, and required his aid in its execution. The wile of the ex-priest, and the arts of the ex-chief of the army of Egypt, combined a plan, in which both engaged from individual ambition, without any regard to the interests or intention of the other: each so well concealed his own design that they duped one another; and very little remained, but to strike the blow, and to take the full advantage of its success, which each supposed he should immediately possess himself of in his own way.

Various secret conferences were now held, at which the director Sieyes, the director Roger Ducos, Talleyrand, Fouché, Volney, Rœderer, Rheinhard, and Buonaparte, with his brothers Lucien and Joseph, were present: few others of any consequence were entrusted with the conspiracy, but those who were, managed their confidence with great discretion. They created various rumours; and, among others, a rumour that a new plan of government was forming for the republic. Thus a change was generally talked of amongst the people, without any one knowing from whence it was to proceed, or when it would be: the public mind was, however, prepared for a change, come whenever it might; and all that seemed necessary to make it to the taste of the Parisians was the destruction of the directory. A few of the council of ancients and of the council of five hundred were also in the secret.

Buonaparte appeared very little in public; he seemed to court seclusion from the gaze of the curiosity of the idle, and he declined the visits of those who had no real business to transact with him: every body talked of him, but of those who talked very few knew any thing about him. He was busied in attaching to himself men of talents and enterprise, whose interest was to be silent, that their plans might be secure in their operation.

Sieyes and Ducos acted their parts in a very natural way, and in a manner well calculated to lull their brother directors in security: they prevailed on them to invite general Buonaparte and general Moreau to a public dinner. A grand entertainment was, accordingly, given, by the directory and the councils, to those generals and their friends, in the temple of Victory (the church St. Sulpice.) The compa-

ny consisted of near eight hundred persons, including most of the great public functionaries of the republic. The leading men of the different factions were assembled at this feast, which seemed intended for the purpose of softening their personal dislikes, by making them social and acquainted with each other. The toast given by the president of the directory was "Peace!" and that by Buonaparte, "A union of all parties:" nevertheless, it was evident, that this was a mere dinner of ceremony; the whole company viewed each other with distrust; there was neither mirth nor confidence: and, though the meeting pretended to effect a union of parties, it seemed only to put them further asunder. Buonaparte quitted the room after a few toasts were given; and the whole ceremony did not last three hours.

The company separated, each in mutual distrust of the intentions of the other, and without having felt any desire of subduing their individual animosities, or of repressing their ambitious pretensions. The least inclined of any of the festive band to forego his designs was Buonaparte; for the very evening of the day on which he gave "A union of all parties" as a toast, he met his own party in secret, at the house of M. le Mercier, president of the council of ancients, to finally determine on those measures which it had been agreed should be adopted, and to assign to each individual the part that he was destined to act, in the conspiracy against the directory.

The committee of inspectors belonging to the council of ancients, at five o'clock in the morning of the 18th Brumaire, (the 9th November, 1799,) sent messages to one hundred and fifty members of that body, who had been selected for that purpose by Buonaparte and his adherents, but of whom very few were acquainted with the conspiracy—they were required to meet at eight o'clock in the Thuilleries. When they met, it appeared that the most violent of the jacobins, in number about an hundred, were not assembled—they had not been summoned, and were ignorant of the meeting.

Cornet, reporter of the committee, opened the meeting with a speech, in which he forcibly stated the dangers of the republic, and the designs of the factious; and ended with proposing, that the assembly, according to the 102d and

103d articles of the constitution, should adjourn to St. Cloud ; that the general, Buonaparte, should be charged to put the decree in execution ; and that, for that purpose, he should be appointed commander of all the troops in Paris, as well as of the guard of the assemblies, and the national guard. This decree was passed by a great majority.

“ This measure (said the proclamation, that was immediately issued) has been adopted by the council of ancients in order to repress the factions, which pretended to enslave the national representation, and in order to restore the internal peace.

“ This measure is to open a way for the external peace, which your long sacrifices and humanity demand. This constitutional measure has no other aim but the safety and the prosperity of us all. Such an object shall be accomplished.

“ And you inhabitants of Paris, be easy ; in a short time the legislature will return to your city.

“ Frenchmen ! the subsequent events will soon prove whether the legislature may be entrusted with the honourable task of preparing your happiness.

“ Long live the people ! by and with whom the commonwealth exists.”

Buonaparte immediately appeared at the bar, attended by generals Berthier, Moreau, Lefebvre, Macdonald, and others. Being informed by the president, of his appointment, he spake as follows :

“ CITIZEN REPRESENTATIVES !

“ The republic was perishing—you knew this, and your decree has saved it. Woe be to those who wish for anarchy, whoever they be ! aided by generals Berthier, Lefebvre, and all my brave companions in arms, I shall arrest their course: Let us not seek in the past for examples to justify the present ; for nothing in history resembles the conclusion of the eighteenth century, and nothing in that, resembles the present moment.

“ Your wisdom has issued this decree—our arms shall execute it. We demand a republic founded on a just basis, on *true* liberty, on civil liberty and national representation, and we will have it. We will have it—I swear it—I swear it in my own name, and in the names of my brave comrades.”

The 19th of Brumaire (10th of November) was big with important events. The castle of St. Cloud was surrounded by troops in the morning before day-light. In conformity to the decree of the council of ancients, that body and the council of five hundred were to hold their sittings there at noon : by that time the members had repaired there in great numbers. Every avenue being strictly guarded, the deputies could not pass without shewing their medal : only a few other individuals, who had tickets, were permitted to enter with them. The picture gallery was appointed for the council of ancients and the Orangerie for the council of five hundred : but the sittings, which had been appointed for twelve, did not take place till two o'clock, owing to the preparations of the workmen not being finished.

The debates were opened in the council of five hundred by a speech from Gaudin, proposing a committee of seven members, to take into consideration the best means of providing for the public safety. It was expected that this motion would have been immediately carried ; but scarcely had it been suggested, when several members of the jacobin party darted forward into the tribune ; all eager to be heard. The cry of "down with dictators !" became general : others exclaimed, "the constitution or death ! we are not afraid of bayonets, we will die at our post !" and some proposed that every member should take a fresh oath to preserve the constitution. The members of the other party were so much thrown off their guard, that the cry of "long live the constitution !" became general, and the motion for taking the oath was agreed to. This was a great victory for the jacobins, it gave them time, which was all they wanted. The ceremony of renewing the oath took up two hours : and when this was over, various propositions were offered and discussed amidst great confusion. At length some motions were proposed and adopted, totally opposite to the intentions of those who had procured the adjournment of the meeting to St. Cloud.

A letter was now brought in, addressed to the council : it was opened by the president, who announced that it came from Barras. On being read, it imported his resignation, but was couched in such guarded and ambiguous terms as seemed to intimate a desire to be employed in the new government ; and the letter gave rise to a violent debate, on

the question, whether the assembly should proceed to the election of a new director? Much of the confusion arose from the members who were well disposed towards a change of government, but who had come to the assembly totally ignorant of what was intended by Buonaparte. They had been easily induced to listen to the extravagant reports which were circulated by the jacobins, who produced all the confusion which had arisen.

The danger became imminent, and the prevention of a civil war required that some vigorous measures should be taken to complete the revolution. Buonaparte being informed of the tumultuous discussions became violently agitated. He hastened to the council of ancients, and, having left his arms in an antichamber, entered the assembly, and requested permission to address the sitting.

The council of five hundred were engaged in violent discussion, when Buonaparte suddenly entered the hall, unarmed, and accompanied by a few grenadiers also without arms, and who waited within the door.—He advanced towards the top of the hall, and the council was instantly in motion: “A general here!” cried they, “what does Buonaparte want with us? This is not your place.” Some of the members flew to the tribunes, others hastened towards Buonaparte, vehemently exclaiming, “No dictators! Down with the tyrant! Down with him! Kill him, kill him!”—He was pushed back and struck at. Several of the council drew poniards and pistols; and Arena, a native of Corsica, and one of the deputies, aimed a blow at him with a dagger. Thome, a grenadier, parried it with his arm, and was wounded. By another blow Buonaparte was wounded in the cheek.

The president, Lucien Buonaparte, with great difficulty obtained leave to speak: “The general,” said he, “has, undoubtedly, no other intention than to acquaint the council with the present situation of affairs.”—Loud clamours and threats prevented his being heard any further; and the general was so overpowered by the number of those who rushed forward to attack him, that he was on the point of falling, when general Lefebvre rushed into the hall with a body of armed grenadiers, who surrounded him and carried him out. As soon as the soldiers had left the hall, the members instantly decreed, that the council of ancients had no

power to invest Buonaparte with the command, as that authority could be conferred by the directory alone. The president, Lucien, animadverted with great energy on the disorders of the day, and on the ferocious insults which some of the members had offered towards an illustrious general, who had rendered the most signal and permanent services to the republic—Several members cried out, “Out-law him ! he has disgraced his military character, and he deserves death from the hand of every patriot ;” others said, “ The president is in the conspiracy, or he would have proclaimed the general outlawed.” The assembly had become a mob, and the president was attacked on all sides. His authority being no longer submitted to, and his life even endangered ; he darted from the chair—indignantly stripped himself of the insignia of his office, and made his way to the tribune ; when he had mounted it, he attempted to make himself be heard—his voice was drowned in loud cries against himself and his brother.—He violently exerted himself, but to no effect ; and tears of agony and indignation started from eyes. His destruction seemed almost inevitable,

When the soldiers, by whom general Buonaparte was rescued, had escorted him to the outside of the hall, in a few instants recovered from the fatigue of his late danger—he hastened to the court of the castle, where the troops were drawn up, and instantly addressed them ; “ Soldiers,” said he, “ Every body thought that the council of five hundred would save the country, but, instead of that, I have seen only a furious and outrageous mob, ready to destroy me. I have some enemies ; comrades, may I rely on you.” “ Yes, yes,” shouted they, “ Long live Buonaparte !”—He selected some grenadiers, who threw open the doors of the hall, just as Lucien had feared that he should fall by the stilettos of the deputies. He was carried off amidst their vociferations, and he immediately proceeded to the council of ancients, to whom he related the recent danger of his brother and himself, in the council of five hundred. Lucien was interrupted in his speech, by Regnier observing the irregularity of letting a member of the council of five hundred speak in the council of elders. This objection, however, was overlooked, and Lucien Buonaparte afterwards went to his brother, who was inspiring the troops

to the accomplishment of his object : after a moment's conference with the general, Lucien mounted a horse, in order to be better seen and heard, and addressed the soldiers to the following effect :

“CITIZENS!—As president of the council of five hundred I declare to you, that the immense majority of the council is now subdued by the terror of some representatives, armed with poniards, and threatening with death those who would refuse to comply with their destructive measures. I declare to you, that those audacious assassins, no doubt paid by England, are in a state of rebellion against the council of ancients, and have threatened with an outlawry the very general intrusted with the wise measures of that council, as if we were still in the dreadful times of their reign, when the word *outlawed*! was sufficient to cut off the most illustrious heads of the country. I declare to you, that those few assassins are themselves outlawed for having attacked the liberty of that council. In the name of the people, who, since so many years, are the victims of those wretched children of terror, I entrust to the brave soldiers the honourable task of rescuing the majority of the representatives ; in order, that, after being protected by the bayonets against the poniards, they may be able to deliberate for the welfare of the republic.

“General ! soldiers ! and citizens ! you will only acknowledge for French legislators those who follow me out of that seditious assembly ; those who remain in the Orangerie must be driven from thence by force. Those assassins are not representatives of the people, but *representatives of the poniard* : such shall be their title wherever they may go ; and, whenever they will dare to show themselves to the people, let them be pointed at under the deserved appellation of “representatives of the poniard.”

Lucien Buonaparte concluded his speech by crying out, “Long live the republic !” and the soldiers shouted, “Long live the republic ! Long live Buonaparte !”

General Serrurier made the following short and energetic speech to the soldiers :

“SOLDIERS!—The council of elders approves general Buonaparte, whom the council of five hundred has attempted to assassinate. Villains ! we will overcome them and peace shall be restored.”

The troops were then ordered to enter the hall of the council of five hundred. The commanding officer exclaimed: "General Buonaparte commands us to clear the hall." The grenadiers advanced and filled the first half of the hall, the other half was occupied by the deputies who did not retire, and who had crowded round the president's chair. A member, called Talot, said to the soldiers: "What are you soldiers? You are the guardians of the national representation—and you dare to menace its safety and independence! Is it thus you tarnish the laurels you have gained in battle?" Many of the members addressed the soldiers, conjuring them in the name of liberty not to follow their leaders. The drums now beat and the voices of the members could not be heard. The grenadiers then brought their muskets to the charge, and a dreadful scene of alarm and dismay was exhibited by the tardy deputies: in their haste to escape from the bayonets of the soldiers they choked up the windows and doors and tumbled over one another. The chamber was soon cleared of them, amidst the cries, by the soldiers, of "Long live the republic! long live Buonaparte!" and they were received on the outside by the hootings and hisses of the people.

The council of ancients was acquainted with the occurrences in the hall of the council of five hundred.

About nine o'clock those members of the council of five hundred who had followed Lucien Buonaparte, their president, were again assembled in the Orangerie, under the protection of the troops. Lucien once more took the chair in safety, and sent a message to the council to inform them of their having met: he then moved the following resolutions, which were immediately passed:

"The council of five hundred declares, That general Buonaparte and the other generals and officers commanding the troops, as likewise the soldiers employed at St. Cloud, having saved the majority of the legislature and the republic, attacked by a factious minority, composed of assassins, have deserved well of their country.

"The council declares, That the two brave grenadiers, Thomas Thome and I. B. Poiret, who have defended general Buonaparte against the poniards of the assassins, have also deserved well of the country."

Chazal proposed that a committee of five members should

be appointed to consider the propriety of forming a new government : after this was adopted, Lucien Buonaparte quitted the president's chair, mounted the tribune, and pronounced an animated harangue on the disasters of the republic, arising from the misconduct of the late government, and the necessity of appointing a new one. His speech was received with the loudest applause and repeated cries of " Long live the republic !" Boulay de la Meurthe soon after returned with the report of the secret committee, containing the project of a decree for appointing a new government ; he prefaced his motion by a long speech, in which he enlarged on the profligacy and incapacity of the directory, as well as on the defects of the constitution itself, and the necessity of a strong executive power, to give solidity to the state, and prevent the return of anarchy.

The legislative body creates, provisionally, an executive consular committee, composed of citizens SIEYES and ROGER DUCOS, ex-directors, and BUONAPARTE, general. They shall bear the name of " CONSULS OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC."

Buonaparte having succeeded in destroying the government of the directory, and himself being invested with the consular dignity, it is interesting to enquire what strength and resources then remained to France after so many convulsions, and such violent revolutions of her system.—The number of inhabitants, the appropriation of their industry, the quantity of land in cultivation, the state of manufactures and trade, are the material points upon which the statesman will solicitously endeavour to obtain information, before he attempts to better the condition of a country, whose body politic is enfeebled and deranged.

France was estimated by the constituent assembly, before the war, to contain a population of 26,363,074. M. Necker, in a calculation made ten years before, mentions the number to have been 24,800,000, and expresses his firm belief that the yearly births at that time amounted to above a million. It appears that the population of France remained undiminished, in spite of all the causes of destruction which operated upon it during the course of the revolution ; and that however severely her manufactures had suffered, her agriculture had increased rather than lessened.

Those who were thrown out of work by the destruction of the manufactures, and who did not go to the armies, betook themselves to the labours of agriculture ; at the same time the absence of a large portion of the best and most vigorous hands raised the price of labour ; and as from the new land brought into cultivation, and the absence of a considerable part of the greatest consumers in foreign countries, the price of provisions did not rise in proportion, this advance in the price of labour not only operated as a powerful encouragement to marriage, but enabled the peasants to live better, and to rear a greater number of their children.

The number of small farmers and proprietors in France was always great, and the sale and division of many of the large domains of the nobles and clergy considerably increased the number of landed proprietors during the revolution ; whilst, as a part of these domains consisted of parks and chaces, new territory was given to the plough. Although the land-tax was heavy, and injudiciously imposed, that disadvantage was nearly counterbalanced by the removal of the former oppressions under which the cultivator laboured ; and the sale and division of the great domains was as a clear advantage on the side of agriculture.

Thus the means of subsistence at least remained unimpaired, if they did not increase ; whilst the births increased, and the deaths of those remaining in the country diminished ; and it appears, that, including those who fell in the armies, and by violent means, the *deaths* did not exceed the births in the course of the revolution.

The estimate of the population, at the period of the constituent assembly, has already been mentioned, and at this time the number of persons to a square league was reckoned 996. In the year six of the republic, the result of the *bureau de cadastre* gave a population of 26,048,254, and the number to a square league 1,020. In the year seven, Depere calculated the whole population of France at 33,501,094, of which 28,810,694 belonged to ancient France ; the number to a square league being 1,101.

Here, however, it should be remarked, that though the numerical population of France might not have suffered by the revolution ; yet, that if her losses were in any degree equal to some conjectures on the subject, her military strength could not have been unimpaired. Her population

consisted of a much greater proportion than usual of women and children; and the body of unmarried persons, of a military age, diminished in a very striking manner. At all times the number of males, of a military age in France, was small in proportion to the population, on account of the tendency to marriage, and the great number of children.

The official reports from the departments, afford useful information respecting the agriculture of France, about the time of the revolution of the eighteenth Brumaire. Out of seventy-eight reports, six are of opinion that it is improved; ten, that it is deteriorated; seventy demand that it should be encouraged in general; thirty-two complain of "the multiplicity of enclosures;" and twelve demand "the encouragement of enclosures." One of the reports mentions, "the prodigious quantity of waste lands put in cultivation within a short time, and of labour being increased excessively beyond the number of labourers; and others speak of a greater quantity of land having been for several years laid down for cultivation," which appeared to be successful at first, but it was soon perceived that it would be more profitable to cultivate less, and cultivate well. Many of the reports notice the cheapness of corn, and the want of sufficient vent for this commodity; and in the discussion of the question respecting the division of the national domains, it is observed, that "having created a greater number of small farmers, and greatly encouraged enclosures, commodities were in a certain degree augmented; but it was to be observed, that the uncultivated pastures no longer existing, had tended to diminish the number of cattle." On the whole, therefore, it should seem that though the agriculture of the country does not appear to have been conducted judiciously, so as to obtain a large *surplus* produce, yet that the *absolute* produce had by no means been diminished during the revolution, and that the attempt to bring so much new land under cultivation had contributed to make the scarcity of labourers still more sensible; and if the food of the country did not decrease during the revolution, the high price of labour must have operated as a most powerful encouragement to population among the labouring part of the society.

Of the state of the hospitals and charitable establishments, of the prevalence of beggary, and the mortality among the exposed children, a most deplorable picture is drawn in al-

most all the reports. It appears, however, that the hospitals and charitable establishments lost almost the whole of their revenues during the revolution ; and this sudden subtraction of support from a great number of people, who had no other reliance, together with the known failure of manufactures in the towns, and the very great increase of illegitimate children, might produce all the distressing appearances described in the reports, without impeaching the great fact of the meliorated condition of agricultural labourers in general, necessarily arising from the acknowledged high price of labour, and the comparative cheapness of corn. If the poor's rates of England were suddenly abolished there would, undoubtedly, be the most complicated distress among those who were before supported by them ; but it would not, therefore, follow, that either the condition of the labouring part of the society in general, or the population of the country would suffer from it.

It should seem from these facts and conclusions, (which are partly the labour of a gentleman who has recently written a very elaborate work upon population,) that, at the time Buonaparte became consul of the French republic, its population was thirty-three millions and a half ; that land was more equally divided than before the revolution ; that although the breed of cattle might have been somewhat reduced, more land was therefore brought into cultivation ; and that there was absolutely more land laid down for tillage than could be cultivated ; that more corn was produced than could be consumed ; and that, although the price of provisions was extremely low, the price of labour was very high.

The revolution, then, had wrought a very considerable improvement in the state of the people, though at the expense of millions of treasure and of lives, and a series of confusion which had lasted during ten years. A train of accidents had effected what no government in the annals of the world had ever accomplished by the power of reason ; the price of labour was high, and yet the price of grain was low ; in other words, provisions were easily procurable by the mass of the people. If existing governments were happily endowed with both wisdom and honesty, they might improve this circumstance for the benefit of their respective countries ; for the causes are clear and apparent, and re-

quire no elucidation by metaphysical research. The emigrations and confiscations that had taken place, had swelled the national domains prodigiously, and the lands had been sold at very small prices, which had enabled persons, whose capitals were discharged by the disorders of the revolution, to direct their attention to agricultural improvements. The decay of trade, and the insecurity of the funds, induced people to cultivate the soil, whilst the demand of the armies for men, kept the labourers from encreasing too rapidly.

It is worth observing, that the French government never found it necessary to attempt the practice of exporting provisions; necessity made agriculture the mean of employing capital, and the consequence was, that grain and every other article, was proportionably cheap. Had the French government raised the price of corn, by permitting it to be exported, the effect would have been the same as if the capitals had been drawn off by the allurements of trade, or by high prices of the public funds. Nobody was willing to trust the government, and the want of public credit conferred a double benefit on the nation: first, it escaped the burden of interest on a debt; and, secondly, it had the whole capital of the country employed in the production of internal plenty.

In prosecuting the narrative of the war, from the period when our hero became the directing soul of the republic, it will be proper to shew what were the views of the allies, as they may be gathered from the declaration of the emperor of Russia, which arrived in France before the overthrow of the directory.

Copy of a declaration, made by his majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, to the Members of the German Empire.

“His imperial majesty the emperor of all the Russias, ever animated with zeal for the cause of sovereigns, and wishing to put a stop to the ravages and disorders which have been spread, by the impious government under which France groans, to the remotest countries—being fully determined to dispatch his sea and land forces for the support of the sufferers, and to restore royalty in France, without, however, admitting any partition of that country; to re-establish the ancient forms of government in the United Netherlands and in the Swiss Cantons; to maintain the integrity of the German empire—and to look for his reward in

the happiness and tranquillity of Europe ; providence has blessed his arms, and hitherto the Russian troops have triumphed over the enemies of thrones, religion, and social order.

“ His majesty, the emperor of all the Russias, having thus declared his views, and the motives by which he is guided, addresses this declaration to all the members of the German empire, inviting them to join their forces with his, to destroy their common enemy as speedily as possible, to found on his ruins permanent tranquillity for themselves and their posterity.

“ Should his imperial majesty of all the Russias perceive that they support his views, and rally around him, he will, instead of relaxing his zeal, redouble his exertions, and not sheath his sword, before he has seen the downfall of the monster which threatens to crush all legal authorities. But, should he be left to himself, he will be forced to recall his forces to his states, and give up a cause so badly supported by those who ought to have the greatest share in its triumph.”

“ Gatchina, Sept. 15, (O. S.) 1799.”

Genoa was the prize for which both parties were evidently contending. The Austrians were collecting all their forces to surround it by land, whilst the British were preparing to co-operate as effectually by sea ; and the French were equally active in endeavouring to maintain the shock by powerful reinforcements.

General Melas received intelligence that the French were collecting a large force on the banks of the Stura, and dispatched general Gutesheim with seven battalions, to plant himself in the most advantageous position, between Fossano and Savigliano, so as to observe accurately all the motions of the enemy. These posts were attacked, but the Austrian general maintained his stand.

Championnet, took up his head-quarters at Finale, 41 miles south-east of Coni ; the Austrian general, Melas, fixed his at La Trinite, 39 miles north-west by west of Finale. Different detachments of the hostile armies carried on a desultory war of posts, which had for their object the protection of Coni from being invested. Klenau, who was commanded to advance towards Genoa, was repulsed by the French general, Miollis. In the mean time, the French marched upon Novi, as the post of Bochetta afforded se-

curity to the northern parts of the Gonoese territory. Novi was taken by them, and at the same time they made an attack upon general Karaczy, at Rivalta, and threatened to make an incursion into the country of the Milanese, by the way of Placentia. Championnet assembled all his forces at Coni, to which place he went in person, after he had entrusted the head and right of his line to St. Cyr, as well as Genoa and the places in its vicinity. Including the detachments he called in, and the army of the Alps, he found himself at the head of no more than 25,000 men. Different skirmishes took place between the advanced guards of the hostile armies with various success, when Championnet determined to attempt the relief of Coni, by giving battle to the enemy; and conceived the design of surrounding the right wing of the Austrian army on the side of Fossano and Savigliano, to destroy their communications with Bra and Turin, and compel Melas to engage the republicans in a situation much to his disadvantage. The Austrian general, with a view of strengthening himself, resolved to embody an army of Piedmontese. These troops were to be placed upon the ancient footing, and to take the oath of fidelity to the king of Sardinia only, without being subject to the Austrian discipline.

To conceal his designs, Championnet performed a variety of manœuvres with his right wing, and gave orders to Victor to assault the posts of La Chiusa and Villa Nova, which the Austrians abandoned in succession. The French penetrated as far as Mendovi, which declined surrendering, while that city was blockaded, and other posts fell into the hands of the republicans. The intentions of Championnet having, at length, been discovered by Melas, he ordered the greater part of his forces to support his right wing, and he himself had projected the plan of surrounding the left wing of the French army. The hostile armies were now in sight of each other between the Grana river and Stura. By the manœuvres of Melas, with his right wing, the French were forced to extend their left, receding farther from Coni, which enfeebled their line and compelled them to fight against superior forces.

Championnet wishing to join the troops of Duhesme, commanded Victor to proceed towards Fossano and Grenier to Savigliano; one column was ordered against Ma

rienne, another against Genola, and a third against Fossano. The divisions of the contending armies formed on the morning of the same day, and began their march at the same period. The action was begun by general Ott, who took the route to Savigliano, against Grenier, when these divisions fought with determined bravery, using every effort to turn each other. The republican infantry had to sustain the shocks of the enemy's cavalry, when they were, at last, forced to fall back, accomplishing their retreat in good order towards Savigliano, which place they were obliged to abandon by the united efforts of Ott and Mitrowsky. By the loss of Savigliano, Championnet was compelled to fall back on Valdizsio, being the centre position of his army; this position was no longer tenable by the French general, without running the hazard of being surrounded, on which account he drew back his left wing to Contala, or Centale, four miles north of Coni. No farther obstacles coming in the way of Melas, he collected his troops before Contala, when the approach of night put a period to the conflict, in which both had suffered a material loss.

Contala was abandoned by the French general during the night, a part of his left wing falling back towards the valley of the Stura (extending in a south-west direction from Coni) and the troops under Grenier having passed the city of Coni, continued their retreat southwards to the left of the torrent of the Gesso, running on the south-west of the valley of the Stura. The post of Morazzo was assaulted by Melas on the ensuing day, when a number of republicans were obliged to lay down their arms to the victors, their retreat being effectually cut off. The loss of the battle of Genola compelled Championnet to abandon Coni to its own resources, after having lost in different actions about 8,000 men. The army, in three columns, retreated, the one by Coni, the other favouring the retreat by the Col de Tende, and a third under Mendovi, its retreat being secured by the valley of the Tanaro. Melas having received information that Championnet's forces were scattered, determined on the pursuit of them into the high vallies, to force them to abandon Coni, and to invest the place to the westward. The republicans were unfortunate in all directions, the forces under Duhesme retreating across the frontiers of France to Briancon by the way of Suse, and the division of Gre-

nier falling back on the south to the top of the Appenines, near the Col de Tende.

To facilitate the siege of Coni, it was necessary to force the French to desert all the posts they occupied in its vicinity. The successes of Melas enabled him to summon Coni to surrender, but the commandant refusing to comply, he began to bombard it, taking care to prevent it from receiving assistance from any quarter whatever. Kray, on the other side, was entrusted with operations equally interesting. He gained possession of Acqui, compelling the French to retreat towards the Scrivia, who posted themselves on the reverse of the mountains of Novi, which they fortified, but from this position they were driven by general Kray, and nothing more of the republican conquests remained to them in Italy except the Ligurian republic ; and the republican army was enfeebled by desertion, on account of the want of provisions.

The Austrian general now pushed on the siege of Coni with great vigour. On the 11th of November the division of general Ott attacked that part of the French which remained at Borgo Saint Dalmazzo, and drove them as far as Robillante ; on the same day major-general Somasiva pursued them in the valley of the Stura as far as Demonte, of which he took possession, and made 100 prisoners : major-general Gottersheim also obliged the French to evacuate the villages of La Chiusa, Boyes, and Poveragna. General Championnet had assembled his whole force at Mendovi and upon the mountains behind the river Ellero, as far as Monasterlo : as long as he occupied this position it was impossible to proceed with the siege of Coni ; general Melas, therefore, gave orders that a general attack should be made on the 13th : for this reason the division of general Metrowski, which had marched as far as Cherasco, for the purpose of reinforcing general Kray, was ordered to return to the camp of the Trinita on the 12th, and to form the left of the attack on the town of Mendovi. The remainder of the army marched in two columns, the one by La Chiusa, upon Monasterlo, the other by Villa Nova, upon the centre of the enemy's line. From the difficulties of the roads the attacks were not made till very late, and the enemy, without making much resistance, abandoned all his positions. The people of Mendovi opened the gates of the lower town to

the Austrians. The French army retired by Vico, and evacuated the citadel of Mondovi in the night.

Suwarrow collected his army in the vicinity of Lindau, on the lake of Constance, and rallied the divisions under Korsakow, when he found himself at the head of an army far from being contemptible, notwithstanding he had lost more than the half of his original number. This army kept possession of Bregantz, which was a post of considerable importance, but without gaining any advantage over the French, whilst the army of the Rhine was advancing to the attack of Phillipsburg, in defiance of the archduke Charles. The inactivity of the combined armies had caused much surprise, when Suwarrow, having sent back his cavalry on his rear, began to retreat, fixing his head-quarters at Memmingen. The corps of Conde at the same time filed off upon Augsburg, to take up their winter-quarters either in that town or its vicinity. This defection of the Russian commander rendered the situation of the archduke perilous in the extreme, yet he found means, with 60,000 men, to keep up a line of defence for the space of 80 leagues, from the celebrated post of Nauders, at the entrance of the Engadin, down to Phillipsburg, and that too in the presence of forces superior to his own.

The French having secured their positions to the left of the lake of Constance followed their advantages on the side of the Grisons, by the valley of Dissentis, on the Forder Rhine. Soult, Loison, and Mortier, dislodged the enemy's rear-guard, compelling them to retreat on the other side of the Rhine by the way of Feldsberg and the bridge of Richenau, which was afterwards destroyed : the republicans penetrated no farther. Massena employed no efforts to compel the Austrians to abandon the whole of the Grisons, since he could at that period have proposed to himself no object sufficient to justify such an effusion of human blood. The different corps of his army were collected by him and concentrated on Basil and Zurich ; the intrenchments at the latter place he raised and enlarged, while all the passes on the side of St. Gothard were blocked up by snow.

Prince Charles found it very difficult to hold the army of the Rhine in check, after the desertion of Suwarrow ; for the contending armies were so equally balanced, that Phillipsburg was twice blockaded by the French. It would

be vain to assign a cause for the departure of the Russians at so critical a moment ; scarcely any conduct, of whatever kind, that Austria could have been guilty of, would have justified such a dereliction from every principle of honour, as to desert an ally at a moment when his own power was unable to protect him. It is certain that the Russian generals complained of their services not being sufficiently acknowledged by the Austrians ; and the capricious disposition of the emperor Paul required no stronger ground of jealousy to lead him to any rash determination. The archduke Charles received notice, about the middle of November, that the Russian generals had received orders to return : but, as the season opposed many obstacles to their retreat, hopes were entertained, that the joint entreaties of the British and Austrian cabinets might induce the emperor to change his resolution.

It was now discovered, that the autocrat of all the Russias was nothing more than an elevated savage, whose unbending mind resisted all the powers of reasoning. Exhortation was in vain : he conceived himself to have been neglected, and he pursued only his resentment, without regarding the consequences. A more unfortunate circumstance had not occurred for the allies since the defection of the king of Prussia : it was an evil without a mixture of good ; and was the more unprincipled, as the other powers in the confederacy had supplied contingents towards very extensive arrangements for the ensuing campaign, upon the presumed co-operation of the Russian forces. Fortune, however, favoured the allies at this juncture, by the necessity under which the French government was laid of sending troops into their own departments, to quell the insurrections of the Chouans and various bodies of the royalists, who were still struggling to re-establish the Bourbons.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FINANCE had Buonaparte's early and earnest attention. He caused to be passed in the council of five hundred, some resolutions, by which the receivers general of the departments were authorized to subscribe bonds for the

amount of the direct taxes of their respective departments, which should be payable by twelve monthly instalments : they were directed to furnish a twentieth part in specie of the amount of the land-tax, to be applied as a sinking fund for the extinction of the public debt. The arrears of life annuities and ecclesiastical pensions, as they became extinguished, were to be applied to the same purpose, and to the payment of protested bonds.

When the public saw the national debts put in a course of extinction by adequate funds, the government found it no very difficult task to borrow more money. Buonaparte appointed a meeting of the principal merchants and bankers of Paris, and laid before them the necessities of the government, and the claims which it had on the confidence of the public, and hinted the probability of a glorious and equitable peace. He assured them, that the reign of plunder was ended, that spoliation of property could never occur under the new system of affairs, that talent only would rule, and intrigue would be abandoned ; but that, to accomplish these various laudable objects, the public treasury must have recourse to commercial men for an advance of money until the new taxes were paid. The meeting, which consisted of about seventy of the wealthiest men in Paris, voted, by acclamation, a loan of twelve millions of livres ; and Fulchiron, Recamier, Doyen, Perregaux, Mullet, Germain, and Desser, were nominated a commission of seven, to put the plan into immediate consideration.

Talleyrand shortly resumed his situation at the head of the foreign affairs. Citizen Gronville was sent ambassador to Holland, citizen Bourgoing to Denmark. General Bournonville was appointed minister plenipotentiary to the court of Berlin, and citizen Colchen, his secretary of legation ; other arrangements were also made in the foreign departments, preparatory to a new system of diplomacy.

The constitution was published at Paris on the 14th of December, with great pomp ; and a decree immediately followed, which ordained, that the different civil officers should open registers of acceptance and non-acceptance, to remain open fifteen days, for the signatures of the citizens.

Rœderer's analysis of the consular constitution of France is deserving of preservation, because it is simple, and is easily committed to the memory. He estimates the male in-

habitants of age, and paying duties as a qualification to vote, at 5,000,000 citizen voters, who reduce themselves to 500,000 notables of communes ; who reduce themselves to 50,000 notables of departments ; who reduce themselves to 5,000 notables of France ; from whom are chosen 500 legislators, senate and tribunate ; and also 80 conservators ; 2 puisne consuls ; and 1 grand consul ; who choose 30 counsellors of state, and the ministers, ambassadors, commissioners, &c. The senate and the tribunate are not chosen *by* the five thousand notables of France, but *out* of that class. A body of eighty members, first constituted representatives of the nation, either by a competent election or by the acquiescence of the people, under the title of conservators, choose, first, all the members called to exercise the legislative power ; and, secondly, the three chiefs of the executive power, (consuls,) the *first* of whom afterwards chooses the ministers and other agents of the government.

A great portion of time was occupied by the legislative bodies in settling the formalities which should present the authorities under the new constitution in great parade and splendour to the people. It was appointed that the consuls and the conservative senate should enter upon their functions the 4th Nivose, 8th year (25th December, 1799.) The consuls were to furnish the conservative senate, the legislative body, and the tribunate, with a guard of honour. The Luxembourg was appointed the palace of the conservative senate ; the Thuilleries the palace of the consuls ; the palace of the council of five hundred was for the legislative body : and the *palais royal* was assigned to the tribunate. Messengers of state and ushers were also attached to these different functionaries.

It was not enough, however, that palaces should be the dwellings of the new officers of the republic : the pomp and circumstance of official dignity were still further increased by the new dresses, which after mature deliberations of the commission of five hundred were decreed should be worn by the legislative as well as the executive ; and even the secretaries, messengers, and ushers, were assigned their *costume*. Open robes and close habits of national blue, of light blue, of black, of grey—tri-coloured girdles, girdles of light blue, and girdles of red ; some fringed with gold.

some fringed with silk, some fringed with worsted, and some without any fringe;—collars and sleeves embroidered, some with gold and others with silver;—some hats with gold tassels:—and other hats with silver tassels:—these were the materials which the legislative bodies of the French republic selected, and which they sorted out, and fitted into uniforms and dresses by a senatorial decree, afterwards printed and distributed as a *programme*, by which the people were enabled to ascertain the rank and dignity of the new rulers of the republic. The variation of climate in the seasons was also considered, for some were to wear velvet in winter, and silk in summer, whilst others were decreed to wear cloth all the year round.

Three days after the constitution was issued the troops were assembled in the Champ de Mars, and sworn to be faithful to the new government. The oath to be tendered to the magistrates and citizens became a subject of discussion, which ended by a law being passed applicable to all those who had been previously bound to take an oath, and which reduced the different formula of oaths and declarations to one only. The constitution being considered the elementary rule of the duties of magistrate and citizens, the explicit promise of being faithful to the constitution included the object of the former laws. It was then decreed by the new law, that the members and officers of the government, the ministers of every religious sect, and the tutors of youth, should solemnly make the following declaration: “I promise to be faithful to the constitution,” and that every other oath or declaration should be abolished. If there exists a necessity for an oath under any government, supposed to be founded on the will of the people, that which was thus adopted by the consular government of France, is, perhaps, the most simple and the least exceptionable of any that can be taken for a model.

Accustomed to change, and delighted with novelty, the Parisians received the new constitution, and viewed the splendour of the new government with self-complacency rather than with surprise; they read and talked, and drank their coffee, and laughed. They reasoned very little, but they oped a great deal. Buonaparte was their idol, and they expected him to do every thing for the happiness and honour of the nation. They joked upon the old directory, and

indulged their humour in bon-mots and caricatures; a pair of these prints, very well executed, formed a part of the decorations of most parlours in Paris. One of them represented a Jew, with a quantity of finery and frippery, the costume of the ex-directors, and ex-legislators; he was crying, "Old clothes to sell, as good as new;" the other, also represented a Jew carrying an enormous load of constitutions and laws, and bawling, "Old constitutions and decrees to sell, very little used, and very cheap." Perhaps the author of the following bill, which was placarded in the night in the streets of Paris, was not quite so much disposed to serve the new government.

"POLITICAL SUBTRACTION.

From . . 5 . . Directors

Take . . 2,

—

and there remain . . 3 . . Consuls:

From them take . . 2,

—

and there remains . . 1 . . BUONAPARTE!"

—

Cambaceres was minister of justice at the time the new constitution appointed him second consul. Neither of the other consuls had been members of the national convention; Cambaceres was the only one out of the three, who had voted on the trial of the king. He declared his opinion that the king should be confined, but not executed, unless the republican territory were invaded by a foreign enemy. He was a man of more suavity of manners than vigour of intellect.

Le Brun, the third consul, possessed considerable talents, and was one of the members of the committee of ancients. He had formerly been secretary to the chancellor Maupeou, the most arbitrary and tyrannical of the ministers of Louis XV. He had the reputation of uniting application to ability.

Before Cambaceres and Le Brun were appointed consuls under Buonaparte, Sieyes had been prevailed on to decline the consulate; this was not difficult to effect; for he saw that he was completely in the power of Buonaparte, because Buonaparte was the man who possessed the most influence with the people. The retirement of Sieyes is a memorabl

event in the history of France since the revolution, because he had retained a very great share of power over the executive government at most periods since its commencement, and he now suddenly lost it altogether.

On the 20th of December a message was read to the committee of the council of five hundred, stating, that the consuls joined in a wish, unanimously manifested by the two legislative committees, that it should decree to citizen Sieyes a distinguished proof of national gratitude. "The citizen," says the message, "who, after having enlightened the people by his writings, and honoured the revolution by his disinterested virtues, refused, in the first instance, the first magistracy, and then only consented to accept, in consequence of his sense of the dangers by which it was surrounded, is assuredly worthy of the distinction which it is your desire should be conferred upon him, and which it will be impossible for him to refuse, when the organs of the law shall have declared the decision of the legislature. The consuls of the republic," it continues, "for the purpose of carrying your wish into effect, and in conformity to the law of the 19th Brumaire, submit to you the necessary and formal proposition of decreeing to citizen Sieyes, as a pledge of national gratitude, the right of property to one of the domains at the disposal of the state."

Few men who were engaged in the revolution had more entirely devoted themselves to politics than Sieyes; and he is one of the many instances of individuals who have arisen by talents and superior genius to considerable rank as statesmen.

Sieyes was born at Frejus in the year 1748, the town where Buonaparte landed on his return from Egypt. Educated for the priesthood he took orders, and became a cure. He was preferred to be a vicar-general, and then a canon: afterwards he rose to the chancellorship of the church of Chartres; and was, at length, invested with the permanent administrative employment of counsellor commissary in Paris. To this he was nominated by the diocese of Chartres: it was never given but to the superior clergy of France. He was esteemed a learned civilian and canonist, and possessed a considerable share of knowledge in the belles-lettres; his favourite studies, however, were politics, met-

apysics, and economies. He spent the greatest part of his time in Paris, where he associated with D'Alembert, Diderot, Condorcet, and the other literati. He was a member of the economical society, which held its sittings in the hotel of the chancellor Segulier.

Notwithstanding his excellent qualifications and connexions, it is probable that Sieyes would not have emerged from obscurity if the revolution had not brought him into a situation to display his talents. Being appointed a deputy to the states general, he began his career by the publication entitled, "What is the *Tiers Etat*?" This work became, at the time, the most fashionable book in Paris.

After the meeting of the *Tiers Etat* at Versailles, he was the person who proposed that they should call themselves "The Assembly of the Representatives of the French people;" and he supported his project with considerable ability.

When the misunderstanding between the orders in the states general assumed a serious aspect, and great numbers of troops were drawn about the capital, the deputies in the popular interest had reason to be apprehensive for their safety. Sieyes, in the sitting of the 8th of July, stated to the assembly, that no troops should be allowed to approach nearer than ten leagues to the place in which the states general were sitting; and he proposed an address to the king, desiring that he would order the troops to withdraw from the neighbourhood of Versailles.

Sometime previously to the month of October, when the king was attacked in his palace by the mob, a secret committee, consisting of the duke of Orleans, Mirabeau, La Clos, and the abbe Sieyes, was formed in a village near Paris. They had agreed upon a scheme for placing the duke of Orleans in so distinguished a situation in the government, that he could not fail to have the command of the populace, and, consequently, possess a decisive weight in the national assembly: Sieyes was then a zealous royalist.

In the year 1791, when it was thought that the king, by attempting his escape, had abdicated the crown, a combination was formed, consisting of Condorcet and Brissot in France, and of Paine in England, for the publication of a periodical paper under the title of "The Republican."

Sieyes actually published some answers to papers which appeared in this publication, and declared his intentions to support a monarchy against a republic by every means in his power.

Sieyes was the author of the "Declaration of the Rights of Man," which was decreed by the national assembly. It was written in his usual metaphysical manner, and excited very different sensations in every country of Europe. In 1792 Sieyes was appointed a member of the national convention. When the convention voted the punishment of Louis, such was the influence of Sieyes, that a great number of members reserved themselves till they had heard his opinion. It was, consequently, understood, upon that opinion would depend the fate of the king.—Sieyes, at length, mounted the tribune: an awful silence pervaded the anxious assembly! he, however, interrupted the solemn pause with only five words: *Je suis pour la mort!* "I am for death!" and instantly withdrew.

From this time he was so far concealed from the public eye that it was not known whether he was dead or alive. It was said by the Parisians, that he directed, from his philosophical retreat, many of the atrocities which were committed under the reign of Robespierre, but of this there appears no proof whatever. From the death of this tyrant till February 1795, he still remained behind the curtain, and did not appear upon the stage until he was certain there was no danger of the mountain regaining their ascendancy. In order to make his apology for having thus absented himself from business during two years, he published memoirs of his own life, the substance of which publication was to lament that the mountain party had abused his definitions of the rights of man; and to state that his system had been intended only as the skeleton of civil society.

An immense concourse of citizens attended the installation of the consuls, which was performed on the 4th Nivose, with great pomp. The council of state held their first sitting, and the first consul presided, accompanied by the other consuls and the ministers of the government, who presented their different reports. In the evening the following proclamation was dispersed in great quantities throughout all the departments.

“LIBERTY!

EQUALITY!

“IN THE NAME OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

“The 4th Nivose, (25th of December, 1799,) 8th year
of the French republic, one and indivisible.

“*Bonaparte, first consul of the republic, to the French.*

“To render the republic dear to the citizens, respectable to foreigners, and formidable to the enemy, such are the duties which we have contracted by accepting the first magistracy.

“The citizens will always cherish the republic, if the laws and the acts of authority are constantly distinguished by order, by justice, and by moderation.

“Without order administration is but confusion; no revenue, no public credit, the resources of the state and private fortunes are lost.

“Without justice, there are nothing but factions, tyrants, and victims.

“Moderation stamps an august character upon governments and nations. It is always strong, and insures permanency to social institutions.

“The republic will be respected by foreigners if she respects their independence as well as her own; if her engagements, prepared by wisdom, and contracted with sincerity, are faithfully fulfilled.

“She will be formidable to the enemy, if her armies and her fleets are well disciplined and well commanded; if every soldier and every sailor lives always as happy as in the bosom of his own family, with a constant succession of virtues and of glory; if every officer, instructed by a long application, is regularly promoted, as a reward for his talents and his services.

“On such principles depend the stability of government, the success of commerce and of agriculture; the greatness and prosperity of nations.

“According to such principles we shall be judged.

“Frenchmen! we have told you our duties, it will be for you to tell us whether we have fulfilled them.

(Signed)

“BONAPARTE.

“By the first consul’s command,

“BERNARD HUGUES MARET, secretary of state.”

But, whilst he thus addressed “the French people,” Buonaparte knew the means which were essential to their

unanimity. He knew, that, amidst factions, the power that would cement the people was force, and not opinion; he knew that he appealed to the people against every conviction, but what arms imposed upon them, and that upon the "French *army*" depended the stability of the government. The arming of the citizens had long been abandoned; for, although some were permitted to form themselves into armed bands, yet they were so few, when compared with the numbers which rushed forward, at the commencement of the revolution, against the common enemy, that, had they opposed any measure of the government, a few regiments could have cut them to pieces. The people had been disarmed because every faction found itself at the head of an army, every disgust excited commotion, and every commotion became a civil war.

At the time the consular constitution was adopted, there were in the different departments of the republic from thirty-five to forty thousand churches wherein divine service had been regularly performed. It is a gross error to suppose that the christian religion was at any time extinguished in France.

The last general assembly of the clergy of France, held in 1789, presented facts which announced that the necessity of reforming abuses was felt, and that the epoch when a reform would take place was foreseen. In this assembly several bishops spoke with much force on the subject.

The disastrous state of the finances, occasioned a deficit which it was necessary to make good. The enormous estates of the clergy excited the envy of the people, and every eye regarded it as a mean to be employed in the liquidation of the national debt.

The civil constitution of the clergy was a severe check given to many abuses. It seemed to restore to the Gallican church the discipline of the first ages. It snatched from the pope the power of giving the canonical institution to bishops; and those who taxed with novelty this constitution, were referred to history for proofs, that, during twelve hundred years, bishops received the canonical institution from the metropolitans and not from the pope; that to tax with intrusion the constitutional bishops, and to condemn them because they had received that institution from the

metropolitans, was to condemn the first twelve centuries of christianity.

“ Enemies without and within,” said the constitutional clergy, “ wish to create a disgust to liberty, by substituting for it licentiousness.” And, indeed, the partisans of the dissentient clergy were seen to coalesce with the atheists and unbelievers, in order to produce the religious disorders which broke out every where in the year 1793.

The clergy, who had taken the oath, had organized the dioceses ; the bishops, in general, had bestowed great pains in setting preachers in every parish. They preached themselves, and this was, indeed, a contrast to the indolence of their predecessors, who engaged in spending, frequently in a shameful manner, immense revenues, seldom or never visited their dioceses. The constitutional clergy, following a plan more conformable to the gospel, gained the affection of the well-disposed part of the nation.

These priests were of opinion, that the storm which threatened religion, required imperiously the immediate presence of the pastor, and that in the day of battle it was necessary to be in person at the breach. They were of opinion, that the omission or impossibility of fulfilling minute and empty formalities, imposed by a Concordat, rejected from the beginning by all the public bodies and the church of France, and annihilated, at the moment, by the will of the representatives of the nation, sanctioned by royal authority, could not exempt them from accepting holy functions presented by all the constituted authorities, and on which, evidently, depended the preservation of religion, the salvation of the faithful, and the peace of the state.

But, when persecution manifested itself, the clergy who had taken the oath became equally the victims of persecuting rage. Some failed in this conjuncture ; but the greater number remained intrepid in their principles. Accordingly, several constitutional bishops and priests were dragged to the scaffold. If, on the one hand, the dastardly Gobel was guillotined, the same fate attended the respectable Expilly, bishop of Quimper ; Amourette, bishop of Lyons ; and Gouttes, bishop of Autun, &c.

Amidst the terrors of atheistical persecution, Gregoire, bishop of Blois, declared that he braved them, and remained attached to his principles and duties as a christian and a

bishop. He firmly believed that, in doing so, he was pronouncing his sentence of death, and, for eighteen months, he was in expectation of ascending the scaffold. The same courage animated the majority of the constitutional bishops and priests; they exercised secretly, their ministry, and consoled the faithful. As soon as the rage for persecution began to abate, Gregoire, and some other bishops, who had kept up a private correspondence with the clergy of various dioceses, for the purpose of encouraging them, concerted together in order to reorganize worship. In Nivose, year, III. (January 1795,) Gregoire demanded this liberty of worship of the national convention. He was very sure of meeting with outrages, and he experienced some; but to speak in the tribune was speaking to France and to all Europe, and, in the then state of things, he was almost certain of staggering public opinion, which would force the convention to grant the free exercise of religion. Accordingly, some time after having refused the liberty of worship, on the demand of Gregoire, that assembly granted it, though with evident reluctance, on an insulting report of Boissy d'Anglas.

The voice of the multitude, which clamoured for religion, and held in esteem the constitutional clergy as religious and patriotic, checked, in some respects, the hatred of the directory and its agents. Then the spirit of persecution took a circuitous way to gain its end: this was, to cry down religion and its ministers, to promote theophilanthropy, and enforce the transferring of Sunday to the *decade*, or tenth day of every republican month.

The bishops, assembled at Paris, again caused this project to miscarry, and, in their name, GREGOIRE compiled two consultations against the transferring of Sunday to the *decade*. The adhesion of all the clergy was the fruit of his labour; but all this drew on him numerous outrages, the indigence to which he was at that time reduced, and multiplied threats of deportation. The functions which he had discharged, and the esteem of the friends of religion, formed around him a shelter of opinion that saved him from deportation, to which were condemned so many unfortunate constitutional priests, who were crowded, with the refractory among others, into vessels lying in the road to Rochefort.

Gregoire remonstrated against this grievance, and obtained an alleviation for his brethren; but it is to be remarked, that in giving an account of their enlargement, the *dissentient* priests took care not to mention to whom they were indebted for having obtained in their behalf this act of humanity and justice.

Religion, under the consuls, was no longer an object of persecution, but of care. Free toleration of opinion, grounded upon liberty of conscience, and secured by liberty of worship, seemed to promise a jubilee to the harassed devotees.

The persecution of all religion for several years, had not subdued the jealousies which the devout, of different persuasions entertained of each other; and the conduct of the fanatics proved the folly of giving a power to any one sect of oppressing another.

The catholics hated the protestants; the protestants feared the catholics: the philosophers despised both; and neither body was content that the others should be as free as themselves. Each was anxious to acquire and to preserve a political ascendancy in the state:—each of the religious parties began to indulge a hope of its becoming the national church establishment, and of receiving its investiture from the new government;—each, therefore, intrigued for the honour of being the fulminator of the decrees of heaven, against the good sense, the manly liberality, and the honest sentiments of the nation; each caballed for the paraphernalia which constitutes the dignity of the spiritual state-mummer; and the bulk of the people, who were to be the objects of the delusion, aided their designs by their childish desire of change.

After the severe contributions levied upon the ecclesiastical states in 1797, the general got his brother, Joseph Buonaparte, appointed ambassador to the pope. The propensity that powerfully governed the French at that period to republicanize every government into which they could get footing, induced Joseph to be as insolent and boisterous at Rome as Bernadotte was at Vienna; and, interfering with the police of the city, upon an occasion of tumult that happened there, a French officer of his establishment was killed. No stronger circumstance was required to justify a new declaration of war with the pope. The ambassador

inspired by wrath and indignation, fled with his complaints to the directory, who, as before stated, decreed Rome a republic.

CHAPTER XIX.

BUONAPARTE's decided declaration in favour of peace had attached the people to the consular government; every principle of policy, therefore, called upon him to make an early attempt to negotiate, whatever might be his private inclination.

Much manœuvring, it has already been seen, had been practised on either side during the war to cast the blame of its continuance on its antagonist; but the allies did not seem disposed to incur the charge of a similar duplicity upon this occasion. The archduke, in anticipation of some sort of overture from the enemy, took occasion, as early as the 4th of December, to communicate his sentiments to the anterior circles of the empire from his head-quarters at Donaueschingen.

On the 31st of December a French messenger arrived at Dover, bearing a letter to the king, inclosed in one to the secretary of state, lord Grenville, as follows:

“MY LORD,

“I dispatch, by order of general Buonaparte, first consul of the French republic, a messenger to London: he is the bearer of a letter from the first consul of the French republic, to his majesty the king of England. I request you to give the necessary orders that he may be enabled to deliver it directly into your own hands. This step, in itself, announces the importance of its object.

“Accept, my lord, the assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed)

“CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.”

“Paris, 5th Nivose, 8th year of the French republic, (Dec. 25, 1799.)

The strong and marked decision of the cabinet of St. James's attached the court of Vienna as firmly as ever to the common cause; but the German empire became daily less and less convinced of the necessity of continuing the

war, and the government received nothing in the shape of voluntary aid. Buonaparte saw in this laxity a favourable symptom for his object, and he continued to correspond with the archduke on the subject of peace, sending his aid-de-camp to the head-quarters of the prince, because he was prohibited from proceeding to Vienna. The arrival of general Kray, on the 16th of February, at Donaueschingen, to succeed the archduke in the command of the army, made the hopes of peace vanish like the morning cloud.

The French government having been defeated in its attempts to procure peace, was compelled to seek it at the mouth of the cannon. The determination of the combined powers to prosecute the war was communicated to the legislative body on the 7th of March. The address, containing evident proofs of indignation against Britain, was conceived in the following terms :

“ Frenchmen ! you have been anxious for peace ; your government has desired it with still greater ardour : its first steps, its most constant wishes, have been for its attainment. The English ministry has betrayed the secret of its horrible policy : to dismember France, destroy its marine and its ports, strike it out from the chart of Europe, or lower it to the rank of secondary powers ; to keep every nation on the continent divided from each other, in order to gain possession of the trade of the whole and enrich itself with their spoils ; to obtain this horrible triumph it is that England scatters its gold, becomes prodigal of its promises, and multiplies its intrigues.”

Whatever truth there might be in the allegation on either side, it is certain that, from this period, the war was a mere personal contest ; and, if it be true that the allies took no very lively interest in the re-establishment of the Bourbons, it will be a question, whether the mere desire of embarrassing an individual was not too frivolous a motive for hazarding the further effusion of blood.

England and France were now, more clearly than ever, the principals in the war, and each exerted all its efforts to strengthen itself, and to multiply its resources. On receiving intelligence of the death of general Washington, Buonaparte made an effort to conciliate America, by a well-timed compliment, in ordering all the colours and officers of the republic to mount black crape for ten days. Such of the

European powers as had persevered in a state of neutrality, were also considered as worthy of being conciliated, from political motives.

The appearance of the British fleet before Genoa had been the preconcerted signal for the commencement of hostilities, and the communication of the French by sea was now totally cut off. Prior to this period a quantity of wheat entered the port of Genoa, which prevented the city from requesting an immediate capitulation. Next day 20,000 Austrians marched from Acqui to Savona, where the republicans had no more than 3,000 men, who made a vigorous, though unavailing, opposition, being obliged to fall back on Cadibona, of which the Austrians likewise gained possession, and threatened to cut off the communication of the Genoese army with France. This division of the republicans was saved from ruin by the astonishing exertions of general Soult, who headed the centre. The Austrians entered the suburbs of Savona, when the French evacuated the town, and effected their retreat towards Albi, forty-three miles north-north-west of the former.

While the Austrians on the west of Genoa were engaged in cutting off the communication of the republicans with France, the eastern division gained possession of Montefaccio: within sight of the town, they kindled fires as a signal to the insurgents, who were further excited by the sounding of the tocsin. They were, however, compelled to retreat by the attack of general Miolis, who pursued his advantage, and made 1,500 of them prisoners at Campinardigo, among whom was general baron d'Aspres. The chief benefit resulting from this victory was the destroying of a spirit of insurrection in the people of Genoa.

The battle fought at Sasselo on the 10th of April, between the French and Austrians, was extremely bloody, and the contest obstinate on both sides, but victory declared in favour of the latter, as the republicans, from the difficulty of the country, found it impracticable to procure information and unite their forces, according to the injunctions of Massena, who narrowly escaped being taken prisoner, together with three of his staff. Soult availed himself of Massena's movement in his favour, and compelled the Austrians to fall back upon Tagliarino, eleven miles north-east of Genoa, which position they were also forced to abandon,

after having sustained a considerable loss. The French carried the mountain Hermetta, which separated the two divisions of their army, formed a junction, and the Austrians, in different conflicts, lost about 4,000 men.

A division of the French army was defeated by an inferior number of imperialists, and driven from their post at Castelletto, twenty-nine miles north-east of Genoa, which was soon after re-captured by Massena, who inflicted on the deserters from this station what was deemed a punishment for their cowardice—they were to remain in garrison at Genoa.

The partial victories acquired by the French over the enemy, could not be viewed in the light of advantages, but rather of misfortunes, since they had no opportunities of recruiting their diminishing army, while their opponents could receive every thing they stood in need of with little trouble and no molestation. Genoa was, therefore, destined to surrender by the triumphant assaults of famine and disease, for which event the Austrians had only to wait with patience. The army of Massena, by the 21st of April, was reduced to 9,500 men, formed into two divisions under Miolis and Garnier, which were to be opposed to an army four times as numerous; but a more dangerous enemy within the walls of the city—*famine*, rendered the situation of Massena truly deplorable.

During the first days of the siege of Genoa the prisoners captured by the republicans were sent back; but an apprehension that they might be employed in arms against the interest of France, and the refusal of the Austrian commander to exchange them, induced the republicans afterwards to retain them. But, as it was perilous to keep them in Genoa, Massena sent them on board the vessels that were lying in the harbour, humanely comprehending them in the list of the persons who were ordered to receive provisions from the Ligurian republic. Humanity hears with horror the recital of the sufferings these wretched beings endured, who converted their very knapsacks and shoes into food!—The government durst not venture to send any person on board, lest he should have instantly been torn in pieces and devoured, to satisfy their raging appetites! Multitudes of them expired amidst inexpressible misery; while others

plunged into the deep, and sought a watery grave, to terminate an intolerable existence.

Whilst Buonaparte was exerting every nerve to establish his power and to complete the subjugation of Europe, a domestic conspiracy had nearly put an end to his career ; it was composed of jacobins, royalists, and moderates ; men of ruined fortunes and disappointed ambition, who united in one common project of anarchy, for the sake of pillage or promotion : they were animated with no patriotic desire to free their country from slavery, for Buonaparte had not proved himself a greater tyrant than his predecessors ; but though their scheme failed it gave him a pretence to assume powers which were dangerous to public and individual liberty, and shewed the first glimpse of that return of arbitrary power, which was never exceeded under the monarchy.

The first circumstance which testified the disposition of Buonaparte to govern by his own will was, a law which he caused to be passed in the two legislative councils, for the creation of a special criminal tribunal, suspending the trial by jury, and enabling the judges to pronounce summarily on all offences affecting the safety of the state, or in any measure violating the social compact ; a latitude of expression which put the life of every man in danger : the judges were partly civil and partly military, and were permitted to decide merely on written evidence. The pretended object of the law was, to repress the numerous crimes which had been committed on the highways, and various other places, by a set of loose people, the impure dregs of the revolution and the war, who, without employment or fixed residence, were continually preying upon the rest of society ; but it was easy to see that these were not the only people intended to be struck by the law ; it aimed at the emigrants, and all those who might be supposed capable of attempting the life of the first consul ; and as such, gave an arbitrary, unlimited, and dangerous power to his creatures in every department. The law met with considerable opposition in the tribunate, and was carried only by a majority of eight, out of ninety members who voted. The precedent of such an attack upon the constitution was fatal, and wherever there are certain principles established as the guarantee of liberty, they should be guarded with the utmost jealousy ; for the first inroad may be considered as breaking down the whole.

The greatest evil of this proceeding was, its being sanctioned by a decree of the councils ; for when injustice is committed by the sole will of an individual, it may be remedied when that individual is removed, and the glaring atrocity of his conduct makes a general impression. The most insidious attack upon liberty is that which is conducted by regular forms ; and the most dangerous kind of tyranny is that which is established by law ; but Buonaparte soon relieved himself from all legal formality ; yet his advances to supreme power, with all the state and dignity which attend it, were slow and regular ; the tricks and trappings of state were assumed first to see how they would be received ; the etiquette of a court, the establishment of a levee, of drawing-rooms, and all the pompous ceremonials of monarchy, were seemingly well relished by the Parisians, who had not yet lost all their affection for royalty ; the appellation of female citizen was abolished, and the ancient feudal title of Madame was restored ; and though the name of citizen, as founded on political equality, could not be easily dispensed with by a people enamoured of their late revolution, yet the term Monsieur was allowed to be used at pleasure ; all these things seemed to indicate pretty strongly, that Buonaparte wished to banish the remembrance of that revolution which had given him his place, and to be thought to possess an authority long established. The increase of the consular guard took place about the same time with the peevish dismissal of the councils, and the re-establishment of religion.

Buonaparte had always affected to be the patron of science and literature, and his brother Lucien, was the dispenser of his bounty, the Macænas of his favours ; for Lucien too had, or pretended to have, a passion for literature, and delivered two or three well-turned speeches, which gained him the praise of taste and liberality. Tyrants do well to purchase the praises of men of letters, that they may make a decent figure with posterity : and the Buonapartes were extremely fortunate in having to treat with an obsequious generation, whose virtues and talents were not rated above the price of their pitiful boons.

The paltry pension of an hundred a year, granted by the government to the virtuous St. Lambert—ruined by the revolution, and eighty years of age, was a poor recompense

for his philosophy and poetry ! yet when governments plead poverty, as the minister Lucien did in his letter to the aged marquis, they only mean it as an excuse for their profligacy and neglect of merit, unless they design to shew that they expect every sort of service at their own price.

Among the many other schemes to entrap the confidence of the nation, and to make them believe that Buonaparte was sincerely interested in the public welfare, was the method adopted by the minister of the interior to extend the boundaries of knowledge and promote the improvement of the country : for this purpose he commenced a correspondence with the different prefects of departments, with the school of medicine, the society of agriculture, and class of sciences belonging to the public institute, for the sake of obtaining a statistical account of the country ; all this had the effect of imposing upon the public ; but it was soon abandoned. Lucien had neither steadiness of disposition, strength of mind, nor virtuous principle sufficient to pursue such an undertaking, and bring it to maturity ; he is a man of lively talents, but not possessed of solidity requisite for so great a purpose, and neither he nor the great consul himself were hearty in the cause ; they had both adopted the cant of philosophy, without embracing its principles ; and their only object was, to delude the people with an idea of their being actuated by patriotic motives. This will be a sufficient key to all Buonaparte's schemes of public good : he knows that this is an age in which men talk much about it, but that very few actually intend it ; and he has no further view himself than to fall in with the temper of the times, in order to gain himself as much popularity as may be requisite for the support of his power.

The French philosophers have written much to prove, that the belief of religion was not essential to the practice of virtue : and, it has happened, that Buonaparte, whilst monopolizing all the military glory of the world, has so far plucked the laurels from the brows of those philosophers, as to have proved that the virtue of their disciples does not greatly exceed that of the christians. How miserably disappointed were all those who looked forward to the vision of Condorcet, when "the inequality of nations and societies was to be destroyed, and man was to approach perfection !" Could that philosopher have visited this earth again, he

might have found, in his own France, a country where nature seemed to have condemned the inhabitants never to enjoy liberty, and never to exercise their reason.

No event had occurred, from the first dawn of the French revolution, that led to consequences more important in their nature or more extensive in their effects than Buonaparte's usurpation. The principles of republicanism were now subdued, and the rights of man no longer asserted in France—not in that France, which, for eight long years, had held the dagger to the breast of every one who had ventured to doubt the political equality of man, and which had traced the source of every vice in the catalogue of moral depravity up to the one single act of *acknowledging any INDIVIDUAL capable of exercising the sovereign authority!* Such a change could not fail to astonish Europe; and posterity will not be surprised that it produced results much more extensive than were immediately observed.

Among the most obvious of those effects was an almost universal paralysis of political opinion, which insensibly, led all the parties in the different countries of the civilized world into an endless variety of inconsistencies, for which they could not themselves account.

The assumption of the government by Buonaparte operated as a kind of touchstone upon all parties; for his authority did not rest upon any principle that those who professed their attachment to liberty had not exploded: and, as far as regarded mere political rule, there was not one of those principles which the British government and its friends had not pointed out as the basis of good order. It was evident to all the world that the British minister had pursued the war for the sole purpose of discomfiting jacobinism; and the first consul had drank so deep of the spirit which actuated that minister that he laboured day and night for the same object; and yet, when he sued for that friendship which kindred spirits generally bear to each other, instead of acknowledging Buonaparte's merits, Mr. Pitt obstinately repulsed him, as if he had *really* been the "child and champion of jacobinism."

It was equally evident, that all those who associated the affairs of France with the cause of liberty, professed to do so, only because they supposed that the success of France would lead to the establishment of governments founded

upon the choice of the people, and acting for their good : but the catastrophe of the legislative body of France had proved that the voice of the people was entirely stifled : they had seen Buonaparte, at the head of his *gens-d'armes* and mamelukes, picking out such of the representatives of the people as he disliked and throwing them into dungeons, in the same manner as they had seen Pitt, at the head of his officers of police, throw their countrymen into solitary cells, under the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act : yet, in the same breath, they could hold up Pitt as an *object of execration*, and Buonaparte as a *pattern of imitation* !

Not a rational effort, not a rational suggestion in favour of liberty made its appearance in England after this period ; and, if ever such an event should happen again, it will not be till that listless and torpid part of the community, which credulously follows the unexamined opinions of others, shall become wise enough to take the trouble of thinking for itself, and following such leaders as fairly explain their ultimate designs in clear and unequivocal terms.

The overthrow of republicanism, by Buonaparte, placed the court, the ministers, the politicians, and the people of England, in a very different situation to what they were in before that event : yet none possessed discernment enough to discover the change but the small circle that formed the interior cabinet of St. James's. Great numbers of those who opposed the government, whether from good or bad motives, had constituted the imitative mass already spoken of, who formed all their notions after the French fashion : with them the sovereign specific for all the disorders of mankind was " hatred to kings ;" and they compounded their remedy with such a copious mixture of error, misrepresentation, and malevolence, that the court hardly needed the recollection of the fate of the unfortunate house of Bourbon to teach it the necessity of courting all the affection and all the talents that could be brought to its support. The danger was now over : the whole body of unprincipled reformers, the whole generation of apes, *were nonplussed* ! Representatives of the people, committees of public safety, and directors without number, they could have found at any time ; but a first consul they were totally unprovided with ; it was an exigence altogether unforeseen : and it was evident

that they must put up with an old king till they should find out a new consul !

The national character was changed, and the old English hospitality, that yet displayed its smiling face in 1793, was superceded by gaunt frugality and care ; which treated generosity, in all its visits, as an impertinent interloper, and taught both rich and poor, the Jew as well as the christian, the philosopher as the atheist, to unite in tormenting each other by the magical effect of—*LOVE THYSELF*—preserve *THYSELF*—take care of *THYSELF*.

The virtuous love of country was reduced to as low an ebb in England as in any despotism in Europe, and a sordid spirit of party had usurped its place : few persons were to be found whose views remained sufficiently liberal to contemplate the welfare of all classes equally. An anxiety to commit reprisals upon each other was the prevailing feeling that distracted every breast, politically considered ; and the patriot struggle of *how much*, was changed into *how little* each should do for his country.

The issue of the French revolution had shewn, as far as it had gone, that a corrupt people were incapable of producing a pure government ; and the argument was as applicable to the people of England as to the people of France ; for those who approved of the French excesses would have committed them themselves, if they had had the same opportunity, and would have bowed their necks to a military tyrant in their own country as readily as they admired him in another. But none of the British patriots had patriotism enough to remonstrate with their countrymen for this profligacy ; if, therefore, any of the political wrestlers of England, who entered upon the nineteenth century, contend for principles more important than the difference between a king and a consul, those principles are wholly concealed, and the wise reformers have not advanced two ideas before the council of five hundred, who were “ caught napping ” at St. Cloud.

This abandonment of principle, on the part of the English reformers, surprised Buonaparte as much as did the personal enmity that the Pittites seemed to entertain against him. The press of France had long been rendered incapable of speaking any sentiment but that of the government ; and the only appearance of free discussion that was

preserved in Europe was by means of some occasional journals in Holland, and the gazettes supported by the English reformers. To those of Holland he paid no regard; because, as he kept a constant supply of troops in that country, he could as easily bastile their authors and printers, as he could those of France: to the firmness and consistency of "Burke's eighty thousand incorrigibles" he looked with more dread. He had figured to himself a club at Hamburgh, consisting of English, Irish, and French jacobins, united to fulminate anathemas against an armed despotism, and to remind the French, that "for a nation to be free, it is sufficient that she wills it." He had expected that his own authority, joined to that of the Pitt ministry, would have been necessary to subdue an obstinate and stiff-necked race, equally obnoxious and troublesome to both: but when he found that the Pittites were so ill acquainted with their own interests that they would hazard the restoration of the republic rather than make peace with his despotism, he conceived too contemptible an opinion of them to care whether he concluded a peace with them or not: and, when he saw the reformers filing off to his monarchy as complaisantly as if he had been chosen by universal suffrage, he regarded them as a mere grumbling faction, whose best principles were their personal resentments, for the gratification of which they would readily follow any adventurer; and he saw that they might, one day, become the humble instruments, in his hands, of promoting his ambitious views upon their own country.

There is no example of baseness in the annals of mankind equal to the conduct of a collection of reformers at Paris, who had abjured their several countries on account of a congeniality of sentiment that they expected to find in France. No necessity whatever had called upon them to exile themselves: it was the *delicacy* of their sentiments alone which had rendered them incapable of submitting to the authorities under which they were born, because they had exercised no voice in their election. Freedom, they pretended, was to be found under the republican form of government alone: to support this form, they taught, that every relation of life was to be dissolved and every social tie abandoned: yet the general, at the head of his grenadiers, had no sooner proclaimed himself chief of their

adopted country, than they obsequiously acknowledged as their sovereign, a man whom they had, a few days before, familiarly addressed as their fellow-citizen, and who had done more than almost any other person to persuade them that they ought never to submit to the sovereign rule !

The termination of the civil wars released a considerable body of troops, who were dispatched forthwith to the armies. Carnot, the minister of war, and general Moreau, had convinced the consul that the issue of the campaign would greatly depend upon a severe blow being struck in the heart of Germany, where he had already signalized himself with so much honour to his military talents. Fortune favoured this plan ; for, after the archduke had left the Austrian army, the Aulic council had resolved to transfer the theatre of war to Italy. The first effort of Moreau was to cross the Rhine into the Brisgaw, between Strasburgh and Hunninguen.

General Kray, successor to the archduke, arranged his army in four divisions, under generals Kollowrath, Klinglin, Stzarray, and Klenau. Two armies of reserve were ordered to be formed, by authority of the Aulic council of Vienna, one of them to recruit the army of Italy and the other to be stationed in Bohemia ; and the Bavarian troops, in the pay of Great Britain, were assembled at Donawerth, under the duke of Deux-Ponts. Orders were received at the head-quarters of the Austrian army about the middle of April, for opening the campaign, but hostilities did not commence till the 25th, by the left wing of the French army, in the passage of the Rhine, commanded by St. Susanne and St. Cyr, at fort Kehl, and New Brisach, thirty-five miles south of the former. A variety of skirmishes took place in the Brisgaw, attended with little advantage to the hostile armies, only the French general succeeded in deceiving the Austrians as to the real point he designed to attack.

General St. Susanne obliged the Austrians to fall back on Offenbourg, while St. Cyr made himself master of Freisbourg ; and another division, under Richepanse, was ordered to march through Basil, with instructions to take a position in the vicinity of Schillenger. While St. Cyr appeared to meditate a passage by the defiles of the valley of Kintzig, under the pretext of forming a junction with St.

Susanne, and force his way through the Black Forest, this latter general left the Austrians to wait for him, again crossed the Rhine, and ascending it on the French side, again re-crossed it, and posted himself at Freisbourg, thirty miles north-east by north of Basil, which had been left by St. Cyr for the purpose of marching against St. Blaise, twenty-five miles south-east of the former.

Generals Delmas and Leclerc were ordered to set out from Basil for Seckingen : general Richepanse was ordered to go against St. Blaise at once to support the movement of general St. Cyr, and the right wings of Delmas and Leclerc. General Delmas, with four battalions, forced the Austrian positions on the Alb, and pursued the enemy with so much speed that they could not destroy the bridge. Two pieces of cannon and 200 prisoners, were taken by the French in this affair ; at the same time general Richepanse repulsed four battalions who advanced from St. Blaise, and took 150 prisoners.

While the French were thus manœuvring, the Austrians were resisting several divisions of the enemy, which resolved to carry the positions of the Black Forest, towards the sources of the Danube. Moreau, in the mean time, having dispatched a considerable body of troops, and sent reinforcements to the right wing of his army, under Lecourbe, gave orders for crossing the Rhine between Schaffhausen and Stein, and attacked the rear of the Austrian army. This manœuvre was so unexpected by the Austrians, that the passage of the river was effected without any material loss ; and Lecourbe, in about three hours after, posted himself on the right side. He engaged the Austrians under Fort Hohenwiél, eleven miles north-east of Schaffhausen ; he gained the fort by capitulation, and made 800 prisoners, after which he directed his route on the rear of the imperial army at Stockach, twenty-four miles north-east of Schaffhausen, while Moreau, with his centre and left divisions, marched on to the village of Engen. At the end of eight days after the opening of the campaign the French were not only in possession of Offenbourg, Freisbourg, St. Blaise, and Hohenwiél, but they had obliged general Kray to abandon the advantageous camp at Donaueschingen, to which the archduke had advanced after the defeat of the French at Stockach, in the former year.

The French had already taken nine pieces of cannon and 1,500 prisoners ; and they were evidently not worse situated than at the close of the last campaign.

General Kray was now fully undeceived as to the designs of Moreau, and he assembled the main body of his army, which had been considerably dispersed ; but so perfectly ignorant were the Austrians of the force they had to encounter, that they could not collect a sufficient army to face the enemy, though they had been all the winter preparing. The main army could not advance for fear of leaving the archduke Ferdinand, generals Grinlay and Kienmayer, with their corps, in danger of being cut off, they not being able to run so fast from Offenbourg and Freisbourg as the French ran after them.

In the mean time, Lecourbe fell in with a body of Austrian troops under the command of prince Joseph of Lorraine, in the vicinity of Stockach, which he defeated with very great loss, and pursued them beyond that town, after taking a vast number of cannon, besides magazines and stores.

Moreau attacked them at Engen, and, after a desperate conflict, carried every one of their posts, and being nearly surrounded, they retreated during the night towards Moskirch, twenty-four miles north-east by east of Engen. The loss sustained by the Austrians on the 3d of May, in the vicinity of Stockach, was upwards of 10,000 men, in which number 4,000 prisoners were included. The singular mode of attack adopted by Moreau was not foreseen by the enemy, and, consequently, the imperialists sustained a prodigious loss in magazines and baggage. With such a rapidity did the Austrians retreat, that the French found it impossible to keep pace with them, although they wished to allow them no time to collect their forces. Kray was astonished at all he had beheld of the masterly generalship of Moreau ; yet, as he had a formidable army under his command, he was determined to stop the career of the French army, or make their advance cost them dear. The archduke Ferdinand had not joined the army at the time of the battle of Engen ; and the counsellors of the Austrian camp could only account for the strength of Moreau's army, by believing that five divisions had been *lent* him from the camp at Dijon.

By the loss of Stockach and Engen, which general Kray had fortified, the whole of a country where he expected to make a vigorous defence, and every position between Donaueschingen and the Rhine was taken by the French : he had now to contend against the menacing route of the French army, determined to penetrate into the very heart of Germany. He got, by virtue of his rapid retreat, between Moreau and the final object of his march, took a position at Moskirch, and waited the assault of the French general. At Moskirch the Austrian army was joined by the corps of prince Joseph, general Grinlay, the Bavarians in the pay of England, and the archduke Ferdinand, who had displayed much skill in his retreat, having contrived to take three pieces of cannon and some prisoners from the French.

The army of general Kray amounted to near 40,000 men ; general Moreau's to full that number. Both armies were in high spirits. Moreau had now his antagonist before him, and he arranged his army for an immediate engagement, one division of it being commanded by himself in person, and another by general St. Cyr, stationed between Stockach and the Danube. The battle began on the plain before the wood of Grembach, of which place the French soon made themselves masters. The Austrians, whose artillery was far superior to that of the French, made every effort to turn the left wing of the enemy, and fought with desperate valour, from the recollection of the signal victory which had been gained over them only the day before. Their attacks were extremely brisk, and it required all the cool and steady courage of Moreau, and such an army as he commanded, to meet them. Three times forced, by the valour and impetuosity of the Austrians, to change their post, they manœuvred with the greatest calmness, and as often recovered their ground. In all probability, the fate of this day would have been favourable for the Austrians, had not Richepanse come up with the division under his command, which turned the scale in favour of the French, the imperialists being forced to retreat a second time, with the loss of about 9,000 men.

These extraordinary defeats, induced Moreau to conclude that Kray would return to Ulm ; but extremely averse to the making of such a sacrifice, while his army was respectable, he took the intervening line of the Riss, which he

gained by forced marches, and where he was determined to await the result of another battle, but where the French did not long permit him to continue.

Possessed of the heights in front of the Riss, Kray deemed himself secure ; but two divisions, under St. Cyr had previously got possession of Biberach, which these heights commanded. Richepanse finding himself so powerfully supported, after sustaining a heavy fire of artillery for four hours, crossed the river, and made himself master of this strong position : his cavalry crossed the bridge at the town, in defiance of a tremendous fire, and gained the rear of the Austrian infantry. To this bold manœuvre the republicans were indebted for the good fortune of the day. The imperialists were forced to retreat a third time after losing 3,000 taken prisoners, and 2,000 left dead on the field.

Thus repeatedly vanquished, Kray was obliged to collect his forces around Ulm. He was joined by the corps of Kienmayer and Watteville, (Swiss in the English pay,) and other powerful reinforcements, which increased his army to near 60,000 men. Moreau fixed his head-quarters at Memmingen, extending his right wing to Augsburg and Landshut, fifty-three miles south by east of Donawerth, and the same distance from Ulm, in a south-east direction augmenting his force also, by all the troops that could be drawn from Switzerland. The French were here attacked by the Austrians, when a desperate engagement ensued, and a victory again declared in their favour, the enemy having retreated in disorder across the Danube, after the loss of 2,000 men taken prisoners. Kray, now finding it impossible to check the victorious career of the French army, by offensive operations, resolved to maintain his post at Ulm in the hope of receiving supplies from Vienna. The designs of this veteran were soon comprehended by general Moreau, who knew that Kray commanded both banks of the Danube while in his intrenched camp ; and, therefore he resolved to cross the river below Ulm, and thus cut off the Austrian commander from his magazines at Donawerth, as well as his expected aid from the interior of Germany. While the French marched towards the Danube, Kray comprehending their intention, strongly reinforced the left bank of the river, to oppose their passage. The engage-

ment took place at Hoohstet, and victory was again propitious to the French; the imperial army having lost 4,000 men, independent of the killed and wounded.

Kray, seeing the danger of his situation, collected his troops together, after leaving a strong garrison at Ulm, and crossed the Danube at Newburgh, as if he designed to make the enemy abandon the left bank of that river in the vicinity of Ulm. A battle ensued, which raged with fury till night, when the Austrians were compelled to retreat, and all back upon Ingolstadt: by this retreat the French became masters of the electorate of Bavaria, Ulm was blockaded; and Moreau's army marched forward, and fixed its head-quarters at Munich, without farther trouble or molestation.

In the course of these exertions many inferior actions took place between detached corps, with various success, but all had a tendency to serve the French, as they led to the state of things for which both Moreau and the first consul were exerting themselves, namely, to disable Austria from sending any supplies to general Melas in Italy.

Moreau had now so well secured himself by the fortresses that he held in Switzerland and Bavaria, that he was able to spare 25,000 men to strengthen the army of reserve, by way of Switzerland.

About the period that the campaign was opened on the Rhine, the army of reserve began its march from Dijon: the government announced it to be at that time 50,000 strong, and receiving reinforcements every day. The chief consul made it no secret, that he was to take upon himself the chief command: on the 5th of May, he arrived at Dijon, where he reviewed the army. Ridiculous and chimerical as the allies treated the consul's idea of leading his army to victory by way of the Alps; Buonaparte, trusting to the resources of his invincible mind, promised his troops at Dijon, that in two decades he would lead them to Milan! It was incredible, and the unbounded confidence of his army, was necessary to receive such an assurance in any other light than the vapouring of a coxcomb. The consul had performed his journey from Paris to Dijon in twenty-four hours, and he lost no time to transmit an account of his arrival to the second and third consuls at Paris. Before the allies knew of his departure he had taken up his residence

in the Valais, at the house of convalescence, belonging to the monks of St. Bernard; there he continued three days, and made himself acquainted with all the local obstacles that he had to surmount.

The height of the mountain, over which it was necessary for them to pass, was one thousand eight hundred feet above the level of the sea: it requires two days to climb to the top of it; not because of its height, but on account of the ice which constantly envelopes it.

The advanced guard, under general Lasnes, took a few hours to refresh their harassed bodies and marched to attack Aoste, capital of the dutchy of that name, and the first town in Piedmont. The inhabitants are a simple people, quite indifferent as to who governs them. An Hungarian battalion attempted to defend the town, but it was obliged to retire with loss, when a deputation of the place set out to wait upon the consul with compliments of surrender.

From hence the army proceeded to Chatillon, a town also in the dutchy of Aoste, situated on the Doria Baltea, three leagues south-east of Aoste. General Lasnes, in advancing towards it, was informed that the enemy was disposed to make a resistance on a draw-bridge, constructed on a precipice, over which, so as to avoid this pass, it was not possible for infantry to make their way. Without a moment's hesitation the chief of brigade, Fournier, sprang forwards, and with the 12th hussars, attacked them in so brisk a manner, that in a short time the force which had advanced to defend the pass was overthrown or sabred, and the passage cleared of every man of the enemy, who lost 40 of Ferdinand's hussars prisoners, with 200 infantry, and a three-pounder, which composed the whole of their artillery. The fugitives were pursued as far as fort de Barre having only bare time to raise the draw-bridge after them. The impetuosity of the French here led them into a mistake which decidedly proves, that, if they had been matched by an enemy any way their equal, either in vigilance or resources, it would not have been difficult to have stopped their progress. In choosing to pass the fort they had taken the most dangerous routes. To communicate a just idea of the difficulties to be encountered at the fort, or rather rock, de Barre, it is necessary only to describe its military and geographical situation:

Under a military point of view, this rock stopped short the whole army, and pent it up as it were in a narrow neck, where four days would have been sufficient to have exhausted the whole of their subsistence, and which the difficult and toilsome passage over Mount St. Bernard, had left no means of supplying. With respect to its geographical consideration, nature, without any aid from art, had formed this rock of such materials, that it might truly be considered as impregnable; and, to render its accessibility the more difficult, had conferred on it the form of a sugar-loaf. The road is at its foot, which is watered by the Doria, a deep, rapid, and dangerous river, whose opposite bank is also formed of high rocks, inaccessible to man, and which serve only for the habitation of marmots and screech-owls. To the left of the arch are seen other rocks, not less elevated than the former, but less impracticable, being even strewed, here and there, with vines, to which the sad inhabitants of this country have access by means of steps cut in the rocks.

There was but one of two courses to pursue; that of taking the fort by assault, or of seeking for another passage, which, by avoiding the fort, might enable the army to pursue its route. Each of these measures appeared to bid equal defiance to force and ingenuity. But the genius of Buonaparte inspired the whole body, and it was on this occasion, more perhaps than on any other, proved, that *nothing is impossible to him who is resolved to effect his object.*

Three companies of grenadiers possessed themselves of the suburbs of the place, and lodged therein. During the day they hid themselves, that they might not be cannonaded by the guns of the fort. But, nevertheless, through the casements they shot all those who shewed themselves through the embrasures and notches of the wall, and in this way greatly disquieted the enemy.

It has already been observed, that art had left the fortification of the rock de Barre to nature entirely. Twenty-two pieces of cannon, a garrison of 500 men, several mortars, with some advanced works, defended its approach, which the above means rendered very difficult.

About eleven o'clock at night, by the light of the moon, the chief of brigade of the 56th, at the head of several

companies of grenadiers, marched silently across the great blocks of stone and rock scattered here and there, reached the pallisades, climbed over them, amidst a shower of balls, and forced the enemy, with the bayonet at their backs, from work to work, till, full of terror, they retired in disorder within the castle : all this while the cannon was thundering, and the firing of the musketry incessant. Cannister shot, grenades, and howitzers, for some time checked the impetuosity of the French. Rollers from the top of the parapet were thrown down with precipitancy upon the assailants, and crushed many to death on the spot ; the chief of brigade himself was mortally wounded in this manner. In this situation a retreat was thought advisable : it was effected without confusion, but the French had to regret the loss of a number of intrepid soldiers, killed or badly wounded.

Buonaparte arrived on the 31st of May at the bank of the Tessino, on his way to the capture of Milan, and made a very military shew of cavalry, with which, and some pieces of cannon, he reached the opposite side on the same evening. Some of the villagers had brought a few boats by this time, and the troops passed over in great numbers. General Mounier possessed himself of an advantageous position along the Grand Naviglio ; and the enemy fell back on the village of Turbigo. The cavalry was disposed of in a manner to harass the Austrians from the lake of Como to Vegevano.

The magistracy of Milan waited upon the consul with the keys, and the most respectable people of the city, accompanied by a brilliant and elegant assemblage of ladies, attended to greet him on his arrival, whilst the populace followed, and all joined in the enthusiastic cry of *Vive Buonaparte ! vivent les Francoise !* The nearer they approached to the town the greater was the crowd. At length they arrived within the gates of this distinguished capital of the Milanese. The windows lined with beautiful Italian women, the rich shops suffered to remain open, testified, in the strongest manner, how great was the confidence of the people in the French army : in fact, the Italians were very numerous who favoured the French ; and the Austrians and Russians rendered themselves particularly odious in this city, by the severities they had inflicted for political opinions.

The pride of the conquerors was highly gratified by the fine *coup d'œil*, presented to them the moment they had

reached the place du Dome ; and here the hero who had led them on enjoyed the sublime trait which the gratitude of a numerous people exhibited. The vast space was made to ring with the reiterated shouts of *Vive general Buonaparte ! vive l'armee Francoise !* These acclamations penetrated their very souls and inspired them with new courage.

CHAPTER XX.

TIME had flown so rapidly before the tardy steps of Melas, that he saw the absolute necessity of catching what remained : and now every division of his army was advancing to the seat of action, to secure the strong fortresses that were not yet surrendered. The Austrian head-quarters were removed to Alexandria, and the commandant of Turin was ordered to commence offensive war, by attacking general Turreau at Suza.

This injudicious attempt, even if it had succeeded, would but slightly have weakened in the west an enemy whose strength lay in the east ; but general Kaim was repulsed with loss, and the French general took up a position of observation nearer to Turin.

The day after the battle of Montebello the French head-quarters were removed to Voghera, through which the army marched on its way to Tortona. The French, on passing under the window at which was the consul, saw general Desaix (now appointed to a division) and an emigrant officer, who had come to parley with him : upon this they endeavoured to shew in their countenances and their gestures the joy, or, rather, the *fierte*, which reigned in their hearts. The cries of *Vive Buonaparte !* with music playing the burlesque air answering to the words *Nous lui percerons le flanc*, was seen to darken the aspect of the officer. How had a few days changed the fortune of all who depended upon the cause of the allies ! what wonders had the firmness of an individual effected !

To take Milan—to operate a junction with general Mouncey—to cut off the rear of the enemy at Brescia, Oric, Novi, Marcaria, and Placentia—to take their magazines, possess themselves of their depots, their sick, and their

parks of guns, were the orders given to the different parties for their movements: while the main army had to watch that of the enemy—to beat up the Po, and effect the passage of that river before Stradella: the activity of all these movements gave to the French army what may be properly considered the *initiative*, which the genius of Buonaparte knew how to profit by.

The blockade of Tortona was to be the next enterprise: the army came to its position before that place in columns, by divisions; the advanced guard quietly surrounded the town, and the day passed without any remarkable occurrence.

If the Austrian commander had any doubts on his mind as to the line of conduct the most proper for him to pursue, this was the moment for him to determine. The possession of Genoa had so far altered his situation, that he had his choice either to fight or to shut himself up in the garrisons he yet held; and this decision ought to have been guided by the joint considerations of the proportion that his means bore to those of the enemy, and the probability there was that the court of Vienna would be able to send a new army and new supplies to his assistance. If his army was equal to that of Buonaparte, not a doubt could be entertained as to the propriety of hazarding a battle; but it would have been imprudent to face an enemy with an inferior force, because that enemy must of necessity have weakened his power by extending his operations; and it would have been advisable to have taken the chance of receiving supplies in preference to losing all by a single defeat.

It should not be forgotten, that at the time the battle of Montebello was fought, the Austrians were yet in possession of the strong fortresses of *Turin, Alexandria, Tortona, Genoa, Savona, Coni, Ceva, Alba, Asti, Verua, Casale, and Valenza*; besides the whole of the dutchies of Mantua and Tuscany. Those fortresses might have been garrisoned and have defended themselves at least as long as they had been defended by the French upon former occasions; and Genoa, with all its advantages, had now the superior advantage of an English fleet to keep it open and furnish it with supplies. Could the French leave troops enough behind to set down before so many places, and yet have an army sufficiently numerous to keep the field? suppose even that they could,

and that they were so fortunate as to take the whole of those places, with the exception of Genoa ; would Melas in that city have been situated worse than Massena had been before ? and, being in possession of this port, could not the court of Vienna, with the assistance of its allies, have kept Savona also, and have poured in reinforcements with less difficulty than the French could have transported them by the Alps and Glaciers of Piedmont and Switzerland ? It is the opinion of the French officers, that the Austrians did not trouble themselves with these inquiries. The writer of the dispatches to Paris says, that “ they appeared to have no settled plan and to fluctuate in all their movements.” They were busy without doing business, and the consul took advantage of their confusion.

The French seem to have fought for Genoa from a sense of its value, the allies from the childish motive of gaining a temporary triumph.

It ought not to have escaped general Melas, that, if the worst possible misfortune could happen to him—that he should lose every fortress without receiving any kind of supply, and, at last, receive orders to evacuate all Italy : so long as he possessed Genoa its port would afford his army a retreat ; and to keep open a communication with that city, as well as to secure a retreat to it, at any price, ought to have been his first and principal concern. Buonaparte knew what ought to be done, and he hastened to benefit by the neglect : he ordered the division of general Chabran to guard the banks of the Po opposite Valenza, for fear Melas should attempt to escape that way, and sent general Gardanne forward to the Bormida, to get possession of the passes between Piedmont and Genoa, whilst the army marched from the camp before Tortona to cross the Scrivia.

To the southward Massena and Suchet were advancing rapidly to harass the Austrian rear.

The whole army passed the night at San Juliano, a hamlet of three farms, a league from Tortona, and situated at the entrance of the plains of Marengo. The consul, and the thousand men of his guard, the staff of the army, and its enormous suite, were all heaped together at this place.

The morning of June 14th commenced, and some discharges of cannon, by the advanced guard, soon drove away

their sleep : all was in readiness presently, and their breakfast was concluded as speedily as had been their supper the over-night. The division of Gardanne had been attacked at seven ; at eight o'clock the enemy had manifested much vigour of preparation : he touched upon a few weak points and made certain dispositions in consequence ; but his intentions were not fully known at head-quarters till towards the latter part of the morning. Berthier was the first upon the field of battle. Till this time the various aids-de-camp had relieved each other in apprising the consul of the enemy's steps : numerous wounded soldiers arriving left no doubt that the Austrians were in force.

The troops under the command of general Victor were immediately drawn up in order of battle : the one part formed the centre, which occupied the village of Marengo ; the other formed the left wing, which extended as far as the Bormida ; the corps of general Lasnes formed the right wing. The French army formed in two lines and had its wings supported by strong bodies of cavalry.

The Austrians displayed themselves successively, and *debouched* in three columns ; that of the right by Figarolo ; that of the centre by the great road to Marengo ; and that of the left by Castel Ceriolo.

The Austrian left wing evinced a design to ascend the Bormida, and general Berthier received intelligence that the French right, under Victor, was attacked with great fury ; by this developement of his forces the design of Melas was fully comprehended.

Upon receiving these tidings the consul mounted his favourite charger at eleven o'clock, and made great haste to the field of battle ; general Desaix, who had been ordered to Seravalla, was instantly recalled, and his division, with the reserved cavalry, directed to support general Victor. Both cannon and musketry, on certain points began to be heard and to approach nearer and nearer ; many both of cavalry and infantry, retired into the rear, wounded by the fire of the onset. The Austrian line was extended to the space of two leagues : for it is necessary to remark, that the Bormida, although generally rapid and deep, was, nevertheless, fordable at several places. The Austrians were particularly tenacious of their position near the bridge, but the principal point of action was at St. Stefano : from this point the

could gain Voghera before the French could, and thereby cut off their retreat; they, therefore, incessantly directed their attention to this weak point. By twelve o'clock the French were well convinced that the whole Austrian force was on the field, and that they now, in good earnest, accepted the challenge which they had declined the day before.

Orders were given to the disposable troops in the rear to come forward, but the corps under the command of Desaix was still at a considerable distance. The left wing, under the orders of Victor, began to give way, and several corps of infantry retired in disorder, whilst whole platoons of cavalry pushed back. The firing drew nearer; in the centre a dreadful discharge was heard on the Bormida, which ceased all at once. "I," says Monsieur Petit, "was in an inexpressible anxiety, yet still I ventured to flatter myself that our troops advanced; on the contrary, however, I saw them, in a few minutes after, returning with but too much haste, carrying the wounded on their shoulders: on the part of the right wing, also, I saw, with concern, that the enemy gained insensibly upon us."

Buonaparte advanced in front, and exhorted to courage and firmness all the corps he met with; it was visible that his presence reanimated them. Several soldiers were observed to prefer absolute death, in sustaining the retreat, to the displeasure they might give him in being a witness of their flight. From this moment his horse-guards no longer continued, as before, near his person; but, without being at any great distance from him, took an active part in the battle.

A cloud of Austrian cavalry *debouched* rapidly in the plain and formed themselves in battle array, masking an immense train of light artillery, which instantly began to hasten the destruction of the French ranks. General Berthier, who, at no great distance, had his eye upon the movement of this column, was briskly charged by a part of it, and was forced to retire upon the horse grenadiers of the consular guard. Murat, at the head of the dragoons, took the Austrians in flank, protecting the retreat of the infantry and preserving the right flank of Victor.

For two hours general Gardanne sustained the attack of the right and centre of the enemy without losing an inch of

ground, notwithstanding his inferiority in artillery : both sides fought with equal obstinacy.

The foot grenadiers of the consular guard now came up, and forming in the most orderly manner, in subdivisions, advanced against the enemy : without artillery, without cavalry, to the number of five hundred only, they had to endure the brunt of a victorious army ! But, not considering the smallness of their numbers, they kept advancing and forced every thing to give way in their passage : the lofty eagle hovered every where around them and threatened to tear them in pieces. The very first bullet which struck them laid three grenadiers and a *fourrier* dead on the ground, being in close order. Charged three times by the cavalry, fusilladed by the infantry, within fifty paces, they surrounded their colours and their wounded, and, in a hollow square, exhausted all their rounds of cartridges, and then, with slow and regular steps, fell back and joined the rear guard !

Notwithstanding many similar traits of courage the army fought retreating in all parts : the centre gave way, and the Austrians outstretched the French and turned the right wing. General Gardanne, obliged to quit his position in the advanced guard, retreated gradually and took an oblique position. At the same moment the garrison of Tortona, discovering the almost routed condition of Victor, made a sortie ; and thus the French were surrounded on every part.

The consul, who was all the while in the centre, encouraged the remains of the gallant corps which defended the road and the defile which it crossed, shut up on one side by a wood and on the other by some bushy vineyards of lofty growth : the village of Marengo flanked this cruelly memorable spot to the left.

What torrents of blood were shed in that place !—what numbers of brave men perished there ! An invincible courage had, unceasingly, to struggle against numbers of the obstinate foe, perpetually increasing.

The French artillery, in part dismounted or taken, had but little ammunition. Thirty pieces of cannon, actively served by the enemy, cut in two both men and trees, the branches of which, in their fall, crushed to death those who were before wounded, and who had sought an insecure refuge under them.

In this awful moment, when the dead and the dying covered almost the whole field, the consul seemed to brave death and to be near it ; for the bullets were seen more than once, to drive up the ground between his horse's legs. In the midst of warriors, who fell on every side of him, he was observed to be giving his orders with his accustomed coolness, he saw the approaching tempest without testifying any fear of it ! All those who perceived him, forgetting the perils which they had to encounter, exclaimed : " If *he* should be killed ! why does he not retire ?" It is said, too, that Berthier addressed him to the same effect. The most courageous man, the man loving glory as he does, might very well be moved without any imputation of a crime : but no, the Buonaparte of Arcola discovered no change in those moments of doubtful fortune.

Part of the ill success of the French was to be attributed to the desertion of a general, who, without authority, had quitted the command of his brigade when general Victor sent orders to him to ascend the Bormida and observe the right of the Austrians.

The village of Marengo, exposed by the retreat of Gardanne, seemed to be the prize for which both armies were fighting. General Victor, stationed successively the 24th light, the 43d, and 96th of the line, to defend it ; whilst general Gardanne, in his new position, took in flank the corps marching to attack it. The Austrian ranks, swept down by a terrible fire, for a moment gave way, but encouraged by new reinforcements, continued their march.

While these movements were going on, the brigade under the command of general Kellerman, the younger, supported the left ; the 8th dragoons charged and routed a column of the Austrian cavalry, but it was charged in its turn by superior forces, and was upon the point of giving way, when the 2d and 10th cavalry came to its assistance, and took 100 prisoners.

The left of the enemy advanced towards Castel Ceriolo, whilst their centre, always receiving new reinforcements, succeeded in carrying Marengo, where they made 400 men prisoners, who had shut themselves up in a house. At this time, some of the French sharp-shooters, who had expended all their cartridges, quitting the field in disorder, the Austrians were encouraged to return to the charge, with

additional impetuosity ; general Lasnes charged them with success. The line uncovered in the plain, resisted the artillery and supported the charge of the Austrian cavalry, but durst not attempt to pursue them for fear of being turned. On the left, general Victor ordered a retrograde movement, and general Lasnes then found himself attacked by forces infinitely superior, and was obliged to follow the same course.

The consul, acquainted that the reserve of general Desaix had not yet arrived, hastened to the division of general Lasnes, to slacken its retreat : " My lads," said he, " it is my practice to *sleep* on the field of battle." Nevertheless, the enemy advanced : the consul wished to charge them in the rear, at the head of the 72d demi-brigade, and ordered several movements with that view, which served to gain some time. The retreat was, however, absolutely necessary, and it was effected in good order, though under a fire of 80 pieces of cannon, which preceded the march of the Austrian columns.

The galling fire of the enemy did not shake the firmness of the French battalions ; they drew close ranks, and manœuvred with the same precision as if they had been on the parade. At this moment general Berthier sent two demi-brigades to Castel Ceriolo, to charge the battalions that supported the Austrian cavalry, the centre and left continuing to retrograde.

In short, at four o'clock in the afternoon, in a line of five miles or more, there did not stand six thousand infantry to their colours, and only six pieces of cannon could be made any use of ! Let not the writer be accused of exaggeration, in painting this prodigious falling off, the causes of which are very well known. A third of the army was actually put *hors de combat* : the deficiency of carriages for removing the sick and wounded occasioned the necessity for more than another third to be occupied in this painful service : not to speak of the plausible pretext this circumstance afforded to certain individuals (of which an army always contains more or less) to absent themselves at so unseasonable a conjuncture from their respective corps. Hunger, thirst, and fatigue, had imperiously forced a great number of officers to withdraw also ; and every one knows what effect the ab-

sence of officers occasions. The *Tirailleurs* also had, for the most part, lost the direction of their corps.

Any one, who, in those circumstances, so terrible and so discouraging to the French army, might have attempted to persuade them, that in two hours from that time, they should gain the battle, take 7,000 prisoners, many general officers, 12 stands of colours, 26 pieces of artillery; have eleven strong places, in fact, all the finest part of Italy, delivered into their hands by the enemy; that, in two days, that enemy would, in an humiliated condition, file off through their ranks; that an armistice would suspend the scourge of war; such a man would have appeared, by such silly hopes and predictions, as if only desirous to insult their desperate condition. How, then, were such wonders brought about? we must follow the course of our narrative.

The enemy, not being able to force the defile, upon which the greatest part of the troops had doubled, began to re-establish a most formidable line of artillery, under protection of which they threw their infantry into the vineyards and into the woods. The cavalry, drawn up in the rear, only waited the moment of the French being driven out to fall upon their dispersed ranks and hew them to pieces. Had this last event happened, all had been lost irretrievably, the consul must have been taken or killed, and his soldiers too much dispirited to have recovered. But victory was not far distant; faithful to Buonaparte, she came, at length, to fight with him, and to be his guide.

Already had the divisions of Mounier and Desaix begun to shew themselves; notwithstanding a forced march of ten leagues they arrived on a full gallop; they forgot their wants, and only thirsted to avenge their fallen comrades. The crowd of wounded and runaways might well enough have damped their courage; but with eyes fixed on Desaix, they only thought of sharing his dangers, and flying to glory. Alas! they were far from thinking, that, in an hour they would cease to be commanded by this brave general. The foot grenadiers appeared again, covered with renown, and menacing, with their terrible bayonets, those who, a short time passed, had bargained for their caps before hand. The soldiers of the legions of Bussy, had collected the caps of the grenadiers killed or wounded, and

exhibited them to the French line, by twirling them round on their sabres.

The village of Castel Ceriolo was carried by the two demi-brigades of Mounier's division, who held a large body of the Austrian cavalry in check. The reserve, under general Desaix, formed in two lines in the plain of St. Julian, flanked on the right by 12 pieces of artillery, commanded by general Marmont, and supported on the left by the cavalry, under the command of general Kellerman. The army rallied at St. Julian.

General Melas here committed a great fault, in changing that disposition of his forces which had procured him so much success. Finding too many obstacles in the centre, he thought, that, by extending his wings, he might surround the enemy, and thereby entirely cut him off: he, therefore, directed great part of his force to these points, imagining he had sufficiently concealed his movements. Thus, not being able to discover what passed in the French army, and ignorant of those reinforcements which had just arrived, he laid the foundation of his own disaster. In fact, Buonaparte, (always placed in the post of honour, and whose perspicacious eye nothing escaped,) seized this favourable opportunity: his orders flew every where in a moment.

As soon as the first battalion of the division of Desaix had reached the heights, that general formed it in close column. Every one kept his prescribed distance; each received particular instructions. The consul, the general in chief, (Berthier,) the generals, the officers of the staff, ran through the ranks, and every where inspired that confidence which precedes and creates great successes. This work took up an hour, which was a terrible one to pass, for the Austrian artillery was bearing cruelly upon the French ranks. Their ricochet bullets carried away with them both men and horses; the French received death amidst them in this manner without moving a step, except to close their ranks over the dead bodies of their comrades! This thundering artillery reached even the cavalry, who rallied in the rear, as well as a great number of foot soldiers of different corps, who, encouraged by Desaix's division, which they had seen pass, ran anew to the field of honour. What was now to happen had been foreseen—was calculated upon; the

battalions burnt with impatience ; the drummer's eye, fixed upon the drum-major's cane, waited for the signal : the trumpeter, with his arm raised up, prepared his breath !—The signal was given, the terrible *pas de charge* was heard ! General Desaix at the head of the brave 9th light, threw himself with impetuosity into the midst of the Austrian battalions, and charged them with the bayonet. The division of Boudet followed the same moment on the right. All the corps were put in motion at once in two lines ; the tremendous fire of the French, like a torrent, carried every thing away that opposed its passage ; in a few minutes the defile was freed from the enemy, who were every where thrown down ; the dying, the living, the dead, and the wounded, were all trodden under foot.

Every chief of a battalion, as he reached the back of the defile, drew up his corps in order of battle, and now the French line presented a formidable front. As fast as the pieces of cannon could be brought up, they were employed in battery, and made great havoc, by their point-blank shot, among the affrighted Austrians. These fell back in their turn, and their immense cavalry charged in a body with fury ; but the bayonet stopped the infantry suddenly, and one of their powder waggons blowing up, their alarm redoubled : the rising disorder being hidden in the smoke, the exclamations of the conquerors added to the terror of the vanquished ; in short, all, in a fright, gave way, and fled.

The French cavalry then rushed into the plain, and by its daring conduct concealed its smallness of numbers. It advanced towards the enemy without the least fear of being broken into. On the right, Desaix cleared hedges and ditches, threw down and trampled upon every thing that opposed him. To the left, Victor, his rival in swiftness, carried Marengo, and flew towards the Bormida.

The centre with less force, and the cavalry, under the orders of Murat, advanced majestically into the plain, always within half-cannon's length. Murat greatly annoyed the Austrian centre, and by watching and following its movements, kept an enormous body of cavalry in check, which could only manœuvre under the fire of three eight-pounders and a howitzer. The French infantry was ready to turn them, having a shorter space to run over, in order to

reach the bridge, and thus cut off the principal point of their retreat. The intrepid Desaix, having obliqued to the right upon San Stefano, cut off the Austrian's left wing entirely ; and, in the very moment of his triumph, after having saved the army, and, perhaps, his country ; the friend and the model of brave men, Desaix, received a mortal wound, from a bullet, in the head ! When tidings of his death were carried to the consul, in the heat of the battle, he exclaims, " Why have I not time to weep !" The death of this officer, who was universally beloved, inspired the army with new ardour. To avenge his death, they fell on the second line of Austrian infantry, which met them with courageous firmness, and another terrible onset hung the victory again in long suspense ; the fury of the French bayonets was met by the Austrian battalions. The younger Kellerman, with 800 horse, collected from various regiments, made 6,000 Hungarian grenadiers and others, besides generals Zach, St. Julian, and the officers of the staff, prisoners.

Night was coming on ; the troops of the Austrians in disorder ; cavalry, infantry, artillery, were heaped one upon another towards the centre : in the throng many of their own men were thrown off the bridge into the river. The artillery, which they had drawn back at the commencement of their retreat, for fear that, by its being taken, it might be turned against them, was, in the present circumstances, of more injury than use to them, as it intercepted their passage. Murat, seeing the importance of precipitating their retreat, and increasing their confusion, made the French cavalry advance on a full trot ; and general Lasnes, who, at the head of the grenadiers of the consular guard and the division of Boudet marched against this line, supported by the artillery under Marmont, in a short time got before a part of the flying infantry, which had no resource but to be made prisoners or to be cut to pieces. The horse grenadiers, and the chasseurs of the consular guard, kept the right of the road, to the number of 200 ; four or five hundred men of the 1st, 6th, 8th dragoons, and 20th of cavalry, occupied the left : Murat flew from one side to the other. The decisive moment was come : the chief of brigade, Bessieres, filled with the same ardour which inspired the army and excited a desire in each corps to distinguish

itself, gave orders for the trumpet to sound a charge, that they might fall upon the enemy's infantry, already out of breath.

The third line of Austrian cavalry, resolving to save the infantry, came up in column, and their rapid pace obliged the French to give loose to their reins; but they, at the same time inclined to the left, by obliquing on them. At the distance of about thirty paces was a ditch, which again separated the furious combatants: the French crossed the ditch, sword in hand, and surrounded the two first platoons in five minutes. The Austrians but ill defended themselves, and were, therefore, cut down or thrown into disorder. The French, at first, made no prisoners, but the dragoons took the same column in flank, and added to the general carnage. The pursuit was continued as far as the ravine, where they made a great many prisoners. The pursuit continued till the Austrian rear-guard was cut to pieces and till their whole force had arrived at the bridge of the Bormida: at length the paucity of numbers, the unfavourableness of the ground, the night setting in, and the extreme fatigue of the horses, induced the prudent Murat to think it would not be proper to expose his troops further, to increase the fruits of so successful a day's work.

General Berthier says, it was night alone that saved the Austrian army; it may be so, but it is possible that the Austrians could have borne a few hours more of hunger and fatigue as well as the French. The two armies had, however, been fourteen hours within musket-shot of each other, and doubtless, both of them wanted repose. Victory had inclined to each side four times during the day, and 60 pieces of cannon had been, alternately, won and lost. At the close of the battle, the French had taken 12 standards, 26 pieces of cannon, and 7,000 prisoners: the Austrians had lost seven of their generals, 400 officers, with 8,000 men killed or wounded. The French lost the general Desaix, and the brother of general Watrin, killed, four generals of brigade wounded, near 800 men killed, 2,000 wounded, and 1,100 taken prisoners; generals Chamberlin and Marmont, were wounded.

Thus ended this memorable day. The darkness deprived both sides of the means of succouring all the wounded; a great number were left upon the field of battle. The Aus-

trians and the French, now becoming brethren from sad necessity, drew nearer to each other, by crawling, as well as they could, and offering or seeking mutual aid.

Every one had lain where he was found, with his knapsack on his back and his firelock between his limbs; horsemen, holding, as long as they could, their bridles in their hands, and sleeping, both horses and riders without any thing to eat or drink.

The clock at Marengo struck ten, when the harassed French were returning slowly towards San Giuliano. Numbers, distressed with fatigue, but more for want of sleep closed upon their horses' backs, but were every instant, roused by the painful cries of those who were borne across firelocks or temporary hand-barrows; or of those, who, abandoned and scattered in the fields, implored their aid. Thus every humane and sensitive heart was penetrated with that melancholy to which the true soldier is no stranger, and which does him so much honour. Horses, limping here and there, upon three legs, called to them by their instinctive neighings; at every step, too, it was necessary to turn out of the way, so as to avoid treading upon the wounded. The ditches and the road often presented the scene of caissons and other carriages, as well as cannon, overturned: further off were houses devoured by the flames and tumbling upon the heads of the wretched owners, half dead by the fears which had driven them to the expedient of hiding themselves in the cellars and other subterraneous places. The total darkness which every where appeared made the picture additionally frightful. Prisoners, not knowing where to go, but, with the hope of escaping, wandered at random: if they were met by the French soldiers, bending under the weight of their wounded comrades, they were forced to turn back and bear those burdens on their shoulders.

“At length arrived at head-quarters, which served as the *ambulance* of the army,” says Monsieur Petit, “every one stowed himself as he could, among the dying and the dead, without the piercing cries of the former being able any longer to surmount the violence of sleep. The next morning, hunger taking its turn to prevail, I,” he continues, “in a melancholy condition, entered the great court, to look for something for myself and horse to eat; I was there struck

with a sight so horrible that I shuddered all over.—More than three thousand, Frenchmen and Austrians, heaped upon one another, in the yard, in the granaries, in the stables and outhouses, even to the very cellars and vaults, were uttering the most lamentable cries, blended with the severest curses against the surgeons, there being too few to dress all the wounded at once. Every where I heard the languishing voices of comrades, or of my particular friends, who begged of me something to eat or drink: all that I could do was to fetch them some water! In truth, forgetting my own wants and those of my horse, I staid more than two hours, running backwards and forwards, performing, by turns, the part of a surgeon and an hospitable attendant.

“Prisoners were brought in from every part, which increased the number of the famished: in short, this was a day that appeared of an insupportable length to all of us.”

An event, however, occurred during this day which made the French army acquainted with the value of the victory they had obtained.—An Austrian officer came to parley, and a French aid-de-camp set out immediately to Alexandria: Berthier went off to that place about noon, leaving all in the greatest expectation, but no one dared to hope for that, which, the next day, they knew to have been obtained.

A supply of subsistence and other necessities now began to arrive, as well as carriages for the conveyance of the sick: a fraternal partition of these comforts was made among all the victims of that bloody day. Without any inquietude or jealousy the Austrian was seen with the Frenchman, who, two days before, would have cut one another's throats! they were seen to receive, from the same hands, under the same roof, in the same chamber, the required help, and the urgent care of succouring humanity!

It may not be improper to introduce in this place a few remarks upon the battle, as they were given shortly afterwards, by a French writer, who served in the consular guard.

“We, nevertheless, had many complaints to make against the Austrians,” says Monsieur Petit: “and it may be said, that in the whole course of this long and terrible war against liberty, but especially in the day of the battle of Marengo, and those which preceded it, they did not shew that regard for the French which a generous enemy always feels for a

valiant, though conquered, foe. During twelve hours, that they had the upper hand of us, could it be believed that they made only eleven hundred prisoners, of which twenty-five were of the consular guard! They must, necessarily, have had many more; but, inflated with their success (as they always are) they did not imagine that we should be ever able to bring back victory to our standards;—they treated us without mercy.

“The priests of Alexandria manifested a baseness and cruelty towards us, for which it may be proper to mark their foreheads with the seal of ignominy. In the beginning of the action some French prisoners were conducted to Alexandria: the priests announced their entry by ringing the bells; cries of ‘Victory!’ and the enthusiasm of joy assailed the prisoners. As far as that event, however, it is lawful, since they may be allowed to prefer the Austrians to the Frenchman: but they dared to call us names, and even to strike the unfortunate, who had not the means of self-defence, and even exhibited poinards to them! And these are well-instructed civilized men, imbued with a sacred religion, who gave way to such excesses. But mark—these same men, two hours after (events had changed the face of things) dared to offer to shake hands with us! Nothing is more shocking than the eagerness with which the Austrian strips off the spoil of his prisoner: not one among us preserved his sack, his hat, his cravat, or his shoes: they snatched from many Frenchmen the rings out of their ears, without giving them time to unlock them. We are positively assured also (how revolting!) that they sabred several of our comrades three or four hours after they had been taken; and it is added, that this is no uncommon case among them. It will be readily admitted, that, after such information given to us, it was well for them they were exchanged the next day.

“How ought they to blush, in seeing with what lenity and good nature we conducted them to Milan! not one was struck or insulted; all preserved their little effects, and they followed the route as they pleased, attended quietly by only a handful of Frenchmen.

“But let us console ourselves for those acts of barbarism we have mentioned, by the recital of a trait of generous humanity: A chasseur on foot, belonging to the consular

guard, full of wounds, lay, almost dead, in the field of battle, at the moment of our retreat. Some soldiers of Bussy's legion surrounded him and disputed among themselves for his spoils: nothing was left undisposed of but his coat, which they had already stripped him of, when an Austrian colonel, by chance, came up, and driving away these inhuman fellows with his cane, asked the soldier, whom he at first took for an officer, to what corps he belonged. 'I belong to the guard of the consul, whom you see before you,' replied the chasseur. The colonel, after paying a compliment to that body of men, had his surgeon called, and the wounded prisoner was dressed in his presence and carried to the ambulance. Some hours after, when they fell back, in their turn, this well-behaved officer came again, to offer him his service to carry him to Alexandria. The chasseur, who saw his deliverance near, thanked him for his generous care and concern, while he represented that his wounds were too serious to allow him to bear the motion of the conveyance. In a short time after he found himself in the midst of his comrades.

"In a moment when our weapons were about to clash with those of the enemy, an Austrian horseman, thrown down, lifted up his hands towards us, and begged us not to trample him to death with our horses. Bessieres, chief of the brigade, perceived him: 'My friends!' he cried out to us, 'open your ranks; let us spare this unfortunate man!' How many similar traits, so familiar to Frenchmen, are forgotten!

"It may be said that Marengo is the glorious patrimony of all the brave men who fought there: there is no one corps, scarce a single soldier, who has not there gathered some sprigs of laurel. But, as I consider myself engaged to recount all I have seen and been satisfactorily informed of, I shall just touch on two or three occurrences, which could not well enter into the body of my narrative. The modesty of the general in chief has made him silent, in his report, concerning the dangers which he ran; such as, that he had his clothes pierced through, and that he, more than once, saw death making way on every side of him. If we call to mind, at the same time, that his adversary, general Melas, had a contusion in his arm and two horses killed under him, we may thence easily judge what efforts the

two armies made, when the chiefs thus exposed themselves for their country's welfare and their glory.

“ Who would not wish to have fought in the 96th demi-brigade ! who would not willingly have been in the ranks with the formidable grenadiers, like the Greeks sustaining the efforts of the whole Persian army at the strait of Thermopylæ—with the 6th, light, the 28th of the line, the 40th, 44th, 50th, &c. &c. ! who can enumerate almost as many battles they have fought as they have been days in Italy.

“ What charges were made and withstood by our cavalry ! what boldness and what concentration of action in the 20th regiment of cavalry—concealed and made up for the weakness of its numbers ! what intrepidity in the eight hundred cavalry of the 1st, 2d, 3d, 5th, 21st and 23d regiments, conducted by the younger Kellerman, who made six thousand grenadiers, chosen troops of the enemy, lay down their arms, and by whose success an uncertain victory was secured ! Our artillery was spread in very small numbers and still less provided for ; but how many of these inconveniences, owing to circumstances, were ably repaired by the manner in which they were disposed, by the prodigies they operated, in order, as it were, to multiply themselves ! In every place where necessity called them—always in battery, at forty paces in front, they braved the fire of triple, nay quadruple, the weight of the enemy's metal : and they levelled and fired with *sang-froid*, justness, and promptitude ! —But it was Marmont who had the direction of them !

“ The loss of the consular guard was considerable only in infantry : in five hundred men there were two hundred and fifty-eight killed or put *hors-de-combat*. The cavalry, out of two hundred, had a tenth of that number in killed and wounded, and about as many horses were disabled. The light artillery was almost all dismounted, and the train-horses killed ; but, by an unexampled good fortune, only one man was absolutely killed and but a very few wounded.

“ After a slight examination (the best I was enabled to make of our respective forces) I judged the French army at the moment the battle commenced, to have been composed of from forty to forty-five thousand men, of which three thousand were cavalry ; that it had from twenty-five to thirty pieces of cannon, in which were two companies of light artillery.

“ The Austrian army, according to the accounts of the best informed persons, contained, in spite of the loss in their preceding battles, and those garrisons which we took from them, and which kept the places still in their power—their army, after all these deductions, I observe might still contain from fifty-five to sixty thousand men, including the reinforcements which had just arrived from Genoa. From fifteen to eighteen thousand of these were cavalry; and they had more than fourscore pieces of cannon, two hundred ammunition waggons, well provided, besides an immense train of army implements and equipage! All the world knows we were not much encumbered with these last mentioned articles; and that, for want of caissons, we were obliged to put our ammunition upon tumbrils drawn by oxen, and that the little we brought into action in this manner was soon exhausted.”

It is not to be concealed that this victory cost the republic dear, by the loss of a great number of its defenders and one of its ablest generals; but let it to be considered, that it was necessary it should be obtained, to save the south from a certain invasion, and France, perhaps, from a frightful devastation.

The whole loss of the enemy in the course of this rapid campaign, including 1,500 sick, found in the hospitals—as many killed—and the prisoners taken since the descent from St. Bernard, was 60,000! a loss, which, however enormous, is not exaggerated.

After enjoying one night's repose the victorious army were made acquainted with the joyful intelligence of an armistice being agreed upon by the French and Austrian generals.

The natural activity of Buonaparte did not permit him to remain in Italy long after he had achieved the grand exploit of the campaign. He left Milan on the 25th of June, and reached Vercelli on the same evening. On the 26th he reached Turin, where he visited the citadel, and reviewed the division of general Turreau. Between the 26th and 27th, during the night, he passed Mount Cenis. On the 28th, in the morning, he arrived at Chambery, from whence he proceeded to Lyons, and reached that city on the same evening. He was received with great distinction

by the constituted authorities in this celebrated city, and was waited upon by the prefect, and all the civil and military officers, as well as the principal people of the place.

CHAPTER XXI.

GENERAL Kleber, in consequence of the stipulations he had entered into, had delivered up Catich, Salahich, Belbies, Damietta, and the Delta, to the Turks, when the intelligence reached him that lord Keith had refused to ratify the treaty; he was, therefore in a much worse condition than when he began to negotiate, whilst the grand vizier had increased his force prodigiously.

Forty-five days had been agreed upon as the time for the French to evacuate Cairo, and until that time expired the French general and the Turkish commander continued to negotiate upon the most friendly footing, in expectation that the court of St. James's would ratify the treaty; but the grand vizier, adhering literally to the conditions, demanded the citadel of Cairo to be delivered up at the time: such a demand was most unreasonable, and the French general refused to comply with it. It was asking him to abandon the only fortified place that he held in Upper Egypt, and, in fact, to shut himself up in Alexandria, where he would, shortly, have been obliged to capitulate without terms. He could not have chosen such a part without dishonour; and the Turks should have considered, that some disagreements which had happened between them and Dgezzar Pacha were to be reckoned in the light of advantages to the French, who, beside, had formed a compromise with Murad Bey, which gave them security on the side of Upper Egypt.

Kleber determined to keep the power he held, and made the letter from lord Keith the ground upon which he justified himself to his army for recommencing hostilities. The letter of the English admiral notified, as before stated, his orders not to sanction the treaty of El-Arish; and it concluded by informing general Kleber, that "all ships that might be met returning to France, notwithstanding they might have passports, would be retained as prizes, and all

on board them would be made prisoners of war." "Soldiers!" said the French general, "we know how to reply to such insolence by victories: prepare for battle!"

From the 8th to the 20th of March the French army was occupied in preparations, and on that day, early in the morning, the troops began to cannonade the advanced posts of the Turks, which were at Maturia, about two leagues from Cairo, the camp being at Heliopolis.

At eight o'clock in the morning the grand vizier advanced with his army, the French being drawn up in two lines. A corps of janizaries charged the French with considerable bravery; but being ill supported by their artillery, and not sufficiently supplied with ammunition, were soon obliged to retreat. The French troops were fifteen thousand strong, well proportioned with cavalry and dromedaries; the Turks were capable of mustering eighty thousand troops in a few hours. Few battles have been fought with more fury during the time that it lasted; but here, as upon all former occasions, the superior skill of the smaller number set the power of the larger at defiance, insoimuch, that, by noon, the French were ready to advance upon their adversaries: a dreadful fire of artillery and musquetry, from the whole line, threw the Turkish hordes into irrecoverable disorder and confusion, whilst the enemy rushed upon them and mowed them down like grass: forty thousand men took to flight in all directions, and the grand vizier found it impossible to rally them.

During this conflict the slaughter among the Turks is supposed to have amounted to eight thousand killed, beside wounded and prisoners! The French fought desperately, and their fury was not allayed when they learned that Cairo had been attacked by some thousands of the enemy, who had penetrated by the way of Boulac, with a view to cut off their only resource, and butcher them in the desert.

The conferences relative to the naval armistice, which had been carried on between M. Otto, the French commissary at London, for the exchange of prisoners, and certain persons appointed by the English ministry, in consequence of a communication made to M. Talleyrand, by the imperial minister baron Thugut, at the request of lord Minto, on the 11th of August, continued without relaxation until

the 8th of October, when the correspondence was closed by M. Otto.

Right or wrong were matters of perfect indifference to the consul and his court : it was an acquisition of the very first consequence that they were endeavouring to obtain, and if extraordinary exertions were necessary, those exertions they resolved to make. The policy of France, under every form of government, whether Bourbons, Jacobins, or Buonapartes, has always been, to attempt by intrigue whatever it had failed to obtain by arms ; and, in conformity with this system the consul embarked in a plan, as magnificent in design as it was difficult of execution, with a view to undermine the naval power of Britain.

The first step to be taken was to persuade the neutral powers that they had as strong an interest in resisting the British claim of a right to search neutral vessels as he had : but this had always been found extremely difficult ; for the British courts of admiralty always made compensation to the neutrals for *their* losses, even when the cargoes they had carried were proved to have been enemy's property and were condemned as such. It was, therefore, resolved to raise an unusual bustle in all the neutral ports, by employing an unusual quantity of shipping for French account, in order that a considerable part of the trade of those ports might depend upon their being able to transport goods to and from France. French agents were either sent to, or the most celebrated merchants were engaged as French agents, in all the ports of the Baltic and America, as well as in the Greek and Italian states in the Mediterranean, to make shipments for France. Among the goods thus purchased for and on account of the French government was a prodigious quantity of timber and naval stores, which were paid for by bills upon persons notoriously in its service, and which goods were afterwards neutralized and ensured from capture by neutral merchants residing in those neutral ports, in order that those states themselves might find it their interest to get such property safe into the harbours of France.

The silly people of those countries did not see that such a trade must necessarily be of the most ephemeral kind ; and, that, even if they should happen to be the most successful of tools in the hand of France, she could not make

use of them after her arsenals and granaries were filled. They were entrapped—the bait was suited to their capacities—they began to speculate with as much zeal as a young shopkeeper does, when, as soon as he has sold a few articles, he takes it for granted he shall presently make a fortune ! A new attempt was made to inveigle Great Britain out of its common sense, rather, the old attempt took a new form. The frantic hostility of the emperor of Russia took the precise direction that the first consul desired : it was the governments of the neutral states that undertook his cause by the northern confederacy, and it was not merely against the duplicity of a few mercenary citizens that Great Britain had now to contend, but against the nations united in one powerful combination. “ We will acknowledge,” said the confederates, “ that the English may have been right in enforcing the search hitherto, because the vessels upon which the principle has operated have not been accompanied by any state ship that could answer for the regularity of their papers : we will no longer let our ships go to sea without convoy, and we will pledge ourselves to resist the right of searching neutral ships when escorted by one or more ships of war.” Russia, Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden, were in a league to convoy safely into the ports of France as much French property as it were possible to cover by the oaths of a number of unprincipled men, inhabiting each of their ports, whose only property and whose only revenues arose out of their perjuries, in swearing property to be their own which they never saw and never were interested in to the value of a single doit ; and, when Buonaparte had succeeded so far, there could be nothing surprising in his treating the American ministers with a dinner before they left Paris : to give them a hint of what was expected of them, in a toast, drank by the third consul, Le Brun : “ To the union of America with the powers of the north ; that respect may be procured for the liberty of the seas.”

During the time that the diplomatic corps were disputing and explaining upon this subject, Buonaparte was consolidating his power by all the devices that wisdom or art could bring to bear upon that object. He gradually increased the splendour and magnificence of his levees and reviews ; he avoided appearing, except upon rare and especial occasions ;

when he did appear, he chose an opportunity of ingratiating himself with the army, either by the affability of his manner, or some well chosen compliment to the regiment that happened to be nearest to his person. Upon the pretence of business he never suffered himself to be approached but through the ministers, and by that means avoided all the familiarity of inferior people, which the republican ideas of his fellow-citizens led him to expect. When he admitted any person to his presence, it was only such as were of consequence, either by their rank or property, and he never suffered any one that he spoke to, to quit him until he had conferred some act of grace or some flattering mark of attention upon him. His family had been rigidly enjoined to be particularly select in their connexions, and Madame Buonaparte, about this time, presented, for his approbation, a general plan for settling the branches of both their families, in a way, that was most calculated to strengthen their interests without frustrating their ultimate designs.

We have already traced the character of Buonaparte from obscurity to splendour ; we have seen him in various trying situations, surmounting some of them by his genius, some by his Machiavælian policy, some by his cruelty. As a warrior he has, hitherto, appeared most conspicuous ; in the field of battle he has shone forth with a lustre over which envy itself cannot cast a shade :—the bridge of Lodi, the passage of St. Bernard, and the field of Marengo, are exploits that demand the meed of applause, which we so willingly confer upon the heroes of antiquity.

The armistice which had been concluded between the emperor and Moreau expired, during the continuance of some negotiations between this country and France ; and the cabinet of Vienna, totally unprepared for a renewal of the contest, was under a necessity of soliciting a new truce. Some discussions took place between general Moreau on the one side and the count de Lehrbach on the other, and a further suspension of arms was obtained in Germany and Italy, for forty-five days, on the 20th of September. The terms of this truce were such, as manifestly shewed the different situation of the contracting parties ; the cities of Philipsburgh, Ulm, and Ingolstadt, were the price demanded from the emperor for this momentary respite.

The policy which France had constantly pursued pro-

duced a new rupture with the Austrians : unable to force them to a separate treaty, she resolved to renew the contest ; proud and confident in her successes, she felt no doubts as to her future career ; and the emperor, whose fidelity to his allies merited a better reward, repaired to the head-quarters of his army with the archduke Charles. A recommencement of hostilities being decided upon, Augereau, at the head of the Batavian army, crossed to the right bank of the Rhine ; while Macdonald, now stationed in the country of the Grisons, prepared to pass the Rhetian Alps and convey new succours into Italy.

Moreau during this truce had returned to his native country and married ; but the stern alarms of war called him from the soft pleasures of love ; and, after sixteen days, he was obliged to quit his bride and repair to his head-quarters. He published an address to his soldiers, in which he requested them to exhibit the same gallantry and the same disregard to the rigours of the season, which they had before displayed when employed in the defence of Fort Kehl and the conquest of Holland.

Moreau was now at the head of the most numerous army that France had ever sent into Germany, and, proceeding in quest of the enemy, their advanced guards encountered each other at Haag, where the Austrians obtained a superiority.

The archduke John was now at the head of the imperial forces : flushed with some partial successes, he collected all his forces, marched in search of the French, and attacked them with an unusual degree of vigour. The battle commenced at seven o'clock in the morning, between the rivers Ider and Inn, on the heights which extend from Bierkrain to Neumarck, and near the very spot (Hohenlinden) where the armistice had, a short time before, been concluded.

This was an important battle, and one that seemed worthy to decide the fate of an empire : there were many circumstances which tended to render it fatal to the Austrians ; amongst others, a severe fall of snow, which precluded that regularity and conformity in the operations which must always accompany a combined movement, or without which the utmost stretch of human genius can effect nothing. Still, however, the gallant ardour of the troops was not diminished by this derangement of the original plan ; and such

was the determined bravery displayed on both sides, that victory for a time hung in suspense.

Moreau, however, anticipated the intentions of the archduke, and having ordered general Richepanse to assail the centre column in flank at the moment it commenced an attack, this unexpected evolution produced inconceivable confusion, and the left one being penetrated nearly at the same time, added to other difficulties, they were forced to retire at three o'clock in the afternoon; and Moreau hung with such determined impetuosity upon their rear, that night alone saved them from total destruction. In this battle were taken the greatest part of the baggage, more than 18,000 prisoners, and near 100 pieces of cannon. The enemy fled in disorder beyond the Inn, and in their flight they carried dismay and consternation.

In order to improve the advantages gained by this splendid victory at Hohenlinden, on the 3d of December, 1800, Moreau, still advancing towards the Austrian capital, proceeded rapidly to Saltzburgh: the advantages of occupying this post were numerous, and they were all foreseen by this able general: in his route, however, it was necessary to pass two rivers, the Inn and the Salza: the former rises in the country of the Grisons, passes through Tyrol and Bavaria, and falls into the Danube near Passau; its bed is deep and it has a rapid current. It was considered by marshal Turenne as one of the strongest military barriers in Europe: its right bank, from the Alps to its junction with the Danube, is fortified by a chain of rocks. The Salza is neither so large nor so rapid as the Inn, yet it is a river of considerable magnitude: Saltzburgh is situated on its right bank, about one hundred and forty miles west-south-west from Vienna.

Moreau having to pass these rivers the retreating Austrians were enabled to retard his march, and, in some degree, to weaken his force: still, however, the French finally prevailed over obstacles that, to a less persevering army, or to one less accustomed to conquer, would have been considered as insurmountable. The Inn was crossed December 9, at Nieupeurien, between Rosenheim and Kuffstein, at Wasserburg and at Muhldorff; the Salza between Saltzburgh and Lauffen.

The greatest part of the Austrian army was concentrated

on the ground between Lauffen and Saltzburgh. This was on the 12th December. A division, under general Lecourbe, was ordered to advance on the right bank of the Saal, and another, under general Decaen, by Lauffen; while a corps of reserve, under generals Richepanse and Grouchy, was ready to support either Lecourbe or Decaen, according as circumstances might render it necessary. General Lecourbe passed the Saal on the 13th December, without much difficulty, and made himself master of the village of Waal. General Decaen having arrived near Lauffen found the bridge broken down, and the enemy defending the heights which command it. At this critical juncture an act of bravery was performed: three chasseurs threw themselves into the Salza, in spite of the intense cold, and swam over for some boats, on the opposite side; meanwhile others advanced and kept up a discharge of musketry along the ruins of the bridge. About eighty men passed the river in the boats that had been seized; and before this handful of soldiers a party of Austrians retreated and left 200 prisoners! Such a paltry resistance served only to add fresh vigour to an enemy already full of an overweening confidence, and at the same time contributed to spread a general sense of inferiority and a strong feeling of timidity through the Austrian army.

The commander in chief ordered Grenier to advance with his two divisions to Lauffen, and the same orders were given to generals Grouchy and Richepanse; a new bridge was thrown across the river, and 500 men, under the command of general Lecourbe, passed over it: they were continuing their route, when, on the morning of the 14th, the Austrians presented themselves in a large body. General Lecourbe knew his inferiority, and, consequently, fell back, contenting himself with defending the road and maintaining possession of the village of Waal. A severe action took place; but still Lecourbe preserved his position until timely assisted by the whole division of Decaen, who had passed the river, and in advancing kept up a terrible fire of artillery on all that opposed him; this movement favoured also the passage of a division under Richepanse, which now began to form on the right bank.

In the night of the 14th the Austrians retreated precipitately, and the French entered Saltzburgh at eight o'clock

in the morning : general Richepanse, with the left division of the French army, pursued the imperialists along the road to Lintz and entered Newmack, the last post in Bavaria, on the frontiers of the hereditary states of the emperor. The archduke John, whose head-quarters were removed to Braunau, on the lower Inn, was by this manœuvre cut off from all communication with the Austrian commander, general Mollitor, in the Tryol, who had a force of about 25,000 men, but who had no communication except with general Bellegarde.

A perilous enterprise was, in the mean time, effected by general Macdonald.—He had passed, in the first weeks of December, the Rhetian Alps, by the defiles of the Splugen and through Chiavenna, at the head of a column, in order to support the left wing of the Italian army, under the command of general Brune. The intrepid perseverance of the general could alone have brought to a successful completion this undertaking ; he led, in person, the pioneers to near the summit of the Splugen, which was filled up, and as it were obliterated, by the drifted snow. He set the example of working to open a path, which was effected ; but the foremost party had not advanced far when the path was again covered, and his grenadiers, sinking in the snow began to believe it was impossible to proceed further : even the very poles, that had been set up for marks, were covered with the snow, which still continued to fall. But the general was himself the first to advance at the head of the pioneers and sound the road : those who were near him he animated by his voice and example ; and, at length he conducted his troops through all the dangers of the Splugen, and, on the 11th of December, gained the valley of the Adda, in the Valtelline, by which means a communication was opened with general Brune : at the same time, likewise, he was master of both banks of the Upper Inn and of the Upper Engadine, and thus mutual communications were established. The *Engadine*, or, as it is called by the natives and the neighbouring states, *Engadina*, is a country of the Grisons : it extends along the bank of the river Inn from its source to the Tyrolese, and is divided into the Upper and the Lower Engadine.

While all these combined operations were carrying on, the Gallo-Batavian army, under Augereau, whose right

wing was to protect and co-operate with the left of Moreau's, gained some important advantages over the Austrians in Franconia. On the rupture of the armistice the baron D'Albini, who commanded the troops of Mayence, stationed at Aschaffenburg, attacked the Batavian infantry. Augereau having received intelligence from Moreau that the Austrians had assembled, to the number of twelve or thirteen thousand, before Bamberg, resolved to give them battle with two divisions of his army, and to drive them beyond the Rednitz. They occupied, besides the village, the two first heights that command Burgh-Eberach. They were driven from the village and the first height; they made a resolute stand on the second, but they were forced to relinquish this after an obstinate resistance. General Duhesme took possession of Bamberg on the 3d December. Augereau, informed of the success of the army of the Rhine, withdrawing his right wing from the Rednitz, took possession of Furchem and Nuremburg, and there meant to wait for further advices from Moreau. It was the object of the Austrians to cut off, if possible, the communication between Augereau and Moreau and to turn the left of the latter's army. Nothing but slight skirmishes took place from the 3d to the 17th: but a bloody battle was fought on the 18th between Nuremburg and Lauff; it lasted from nine o'clock in the morning till the close of the day. The engagement was equally fierce on both sides: the assailants were forced to fall back, but the loss was supposed to be nearly equal in either army: a hundred waggons were loaded with dead and wounded Austrians.

Such was the situation of affairs when the Austrian army of the Danube moved from Braunau, and, on the 16th of December, took an advantageous position behind the Traun. The command of the army was taken by the archduke Charles, *with full powers*; a thing which had long been denied to him. A battle took place, in which the Austrians lost in killed and wounded, from 300 to 500; 1,000 were taken prisoners, 600 of which were cavalry, with general Lopez, their commander. They sustained another defeat, on the heights of Lambach; by Richepanse, who drove them into the defiles of Lambach with great loss. The imperial army now retreated to Lintz, within 92 miles

of Vienna : the French continued to advance, and on the 20th December fixed their head-quarters at Wells.

The French army had now penetrated into the heart of Germany, and threatened even the capital : their rapid successes, and the indefatigable manner in which they followed those successes up, allowed no time to the retreating Austrians to recover themselves ; this perfection of military skill was well understood by Moreau, admirable not only in his plans but decisive in their execution ; the celerity with which he pushed them one upon the other confounded his enemies : if he attacked and conquered, he followed the discomfited foe with such perseverance, that no time could be gained by them to reinstate themselves. In conformity with this system, he now formed his army into three columns, of which the right, under Lccourbe, advanced towards the mountains south of Steyer on the Ens ; the centre, commanded by Moreau himself, set out for Steyer ; and the left, under Grenier, which had marched along the south banks of the Danube, and forced the Austrians to retreat from Lintz across the river, proceeded on the high road from Lintz towards Vienna. On the 24th Richepanse, with the advanced guard of the centre column, entered Steyer, in which he found 17 pieces of cannon, and made 4,000 prisoners. On the 25th, the French began to proceed onward to the next river, the Erlaph, and the Austrians to retire behind the Trasen, the last river of any note, within fifty miles of Vienna.

Thus critically situated, all was confusion, consternation, and dismay, within this extensive city ; terror reigned in every countenance, except those, who, disaffected to the government, expected from the arrival of the French something, though they knew not what : yet it would be change, and change, to evil minds, though from bad to worse, is preferable to the torpid state of inactivity and monotony, when their spirits feed upon themselves. In every country are to be found those restless and unquiet spirits, that seem to find no consolation in existing things ; to create disturbance, whence some change of condition may arise, is the only balm they can apply to minds harassed with care and satiated with vice. In every country, too, there are cool, calculating knaves, who speculate upon ruin and anarchy with the apathy of demons ; they instil their doctrines into

the minds of the eager and wavering multitude, and thus create sects. These are the inseparable pests of all large cities, and of these Vienna was not, of course, destitute. In proportion as the common enemy approached, their spirits rose ; they had meetings, and anticipated scenes of glorious uproar and ruin ; they took no pains to conceal their sentiments, and the loyal and the virtuous felt their dread increase when they saw traitors within the walls and enemies without. The city was in a state of utter confusion ; trade was stopped ; families kept within doors, and scarcely ventured into the streets ; distrust and suspicion prevailed ; the wealthy trembled for their money and their palaces ; the honest artisan, the industrious tradesman, shuddered at the thought of seeing his little property pillaged by a band of lawless invaders, who would ravage and spoil wherever they entered ; they looked upon their families and wept, as they thought that a few days might behold them a prey to ruffian violence and sanguinary cruelty. The consternation was increased by the departure of the imperial family, who set out for Offen, escorted by a party of the life-guards. The gallery of paintings, with the imperial treasury, other valuable articles, and the city treasury, were placed in waggons, and ready to be removed from the capital : such preparations could not fail to excite the most lively alarm ; but the fears of the good were quieted, and the hopes of the factious were frustrated by the arrival of the archduke Charles at Vienna, on the 27th December, at ten in the morning, who brought the consolatory intelligence of his having concluded an armistice at Steyer, of thirty days, with general Moreau.

By this armistice, the French army of the Rhine obtained a triangular portion of territory, whose base rested on Chiovenna and Wurtzburg, and whose point was between Leoben and Pachlarn on the Danube, within fifty-two English miles from Vienna. This armistice comprehended the Gallo-Batavian army, as well as that of the Rhine ; its duration was to be for thirty days, and hostilities were not to be recommenced after its expiration, until a previous notice of fifteen days had been given : the armistice might, therefore, be indefinitely prolonged until the notice of the rupture. No corps or detachments, either of the French army of the Rhine, or that of his imperial majesty in Ger-

many, were to be sent to the respective armies in Italy, so long as there should be no armistice between the French and the imperial armies in that country. In addition to this, Moreau promised to dispatch, with the utmost diligence, the present convention to the general in chief of the Gallo-Batavian army, that of the Grisons, and that of Italy; urging them strongly at the same time, particularly the army of Italy, to conclude a suspension of hostilities.

CHAPTER XXII.

KLEBER, the commander of the army in Egypt, had been most cruelly assassinated, and Menou succeeded to the command.

There was nothing which excited more general indignation in the French army than this act, and the dastardly attempts which were made by Menou to tarnish and degrade the glory of Kleber. Kleber was adored by the soldiery, more even than Buonaparte: they had not forgotten his magnanimous conduct with regard to the latter, when he left him to conduct the perilous war to a conclusion, without money, or any resources necessary to an army in a foreign country. Kleber had the glory of France at his heart, and he loved the service he was engaged in too well to risk its disgrace by damping the spirits of his men: he became, therefore, voluntarily, the apologist of Buonaparte, and hushed the indignant feelings of his own breast that he might not awaken those of his army. This was a noble trait of character, which reflects an enviable lustre on his name; it was not forgotten by the French; and they execrated the meanness of Menou, who strove, by a thousand dirty acts, to cast a shade of opprobrium upon the much loved memory of the man he had succeeded. How unlike the nobleness of a great mind! When Julius Cæsar beheld the head of Pompey, his rival for dominion, he wept; a homage that dignified at once the giver and receiver.

General Menou, in fact, rendered himself equally unpopular to the men and to the generals. His conduct was often tyrannical and capricious; and this disgusted those officers who felt themselves his equal in military science.

It is a dangerous thing when a commander in chief alienates the affections of his generals : the soldiery may be disgusted with their head, yet allegiance to their immediate commanders will keep them faithful ; but when these are disaffected, there is then no bond subsisting to check the most alarming dissensions. One of those arbitrary measures which Menou indulged in, was the displacing general Dumas from his station, and this was done without the least reason being assigned for it. General Dumas was astonished : he wrote to Menou, expressing his total ignorance of what cause he could have for a step so strange and unprecedented ; he urged also, that it was incumbent on Menou to wait for dispatches from his government, unless he had charges against him weighty enough to authorize a court martial. To this remonstrance he received no answer, and Menou even refused to see him.

General Reynier and general Friant, justly apprehensive that such a step might produce the most alarming consequences in their present critical situation, waited upon Menou, to discourse with him upon the business. Nothing, however, was to be done ; and if any thing could aggravate the baseness of the transaction, it was the reasons which Menou chose to assign for it : *he felt an incompatibility in their dispositions ; he could not transact business with general Dumas ; he protested, on his honour, that no personal animosity influenced his conduct.* This was surely adding insult to oppression : this was the excuse of a child, who throws away a toy because he is tired of it. What security is there for the very existence of an army, if its chief wantonly displace meritorious officers from “ incompatibility of temper ! ” How like a prating gentlewoman is such jargon !

Reynier, however, forbore to press the matter further, because Menou, very cavalierly, offered to resign his command. He seemed, indeed, to sport with the safety of the whole army, placing their entire welfare and the success of their arms as mere foils, to his own wanton caprices. Reynier had always, from delicacy, forbore to represent to Menou that, commanding the army only *ad interim*, (for his authority had not yet been sanctioned by the French government,) it ill became him to make a change of such magnitude, unless in a case of the most urgent ne-

cessity. He begged, however, that he would explain himself to Dumas, and to make up the breach if possible, either by continuing him in his station or removing him to some other suitable command. Dumas, who was far from wishing to create embarrassment or dissension, retired from the station of chief of the staff, and accepted the command of the provinces of Benisouef and Fayoum : the order of the day announced his retreat, and contained eulogiums on his conduct. His successor was general Le Grange ; but Menou only appeared to repose confidence in him, for he transacted himself even the minutest duties of the station.

It now became daily more evident that Menou purposed to form a party ; but in this he failed ; and finding, that, although the most perfect discipline prevailed in the army, the greater part of the officers and corps were dissatisfied with him, he resolved to make himself popular. Accordingly, on the 23d September, he made six new generals of brigade and filled up all the vacancies in the army. Some of the officers, preferring to remain with their own corps rather than be advanced, refused the promotion ; but they were compelled to accept their new rank. It was evident that in doing this Menou was actuated by political finesse ; for though the persons whom he advanced were men that deserved that reward for eminent services ; yet Menou was less anxious, in reality, to remunerate talent than to crush envy : he whispered to himself, that, by bestowing favours, he should, in effect, destroy any lurking enmity towards himself ; or, at least, should those very persons whom he had thus distinguished, prove afterwards in any way obnoxious to his views, it would be no difficult matter to fix the popular odium on them, as ungrateful beings, who repaid kindness by treachery. He well knew the readiness with which the human feelings rise up against ingratitude ; and, therefore, by loading those whom he suspected with benefits, he, at least, rendered them, if not active friends, negative enemies. There were, indeed, no arts of dissimulation to which this man did not descend : he even employed spies in the army, tale-bearers, to fetch and carry petty conversations for their master ! What stronger proof need be adduced of insincerity of conduct, of inward condemnation and irresolute feelings, than this ? How unlike the

great man who had led the French army to the shores of Egypt! how unlike the generous, manly Kleber!

The same self-determination, which invariably characterized all the actions of general Menou, was equally conspicuous in his civil administration: it had, indeed, a worthier object—the *comforts* of the army, and it was conducted with the most perfect self disinterestedness; still, however, it was impolitic to waste the resources on temporary, and often needless objects. The finances, to an invading army, especially to an army situated like the French, at an immense distance from their country, with no means of conveying supplies over land, and the passage by sea exposed to imminent and almost certain dangers, from the vast superiority of our navy; the finances to such an army were of the utmost and most serious importance, and any thing like a heedless squandering of them was criminal. To rely upon forced contributions in a hostile country was precarious in the extreme: and money, which is, in modern times, the sinews of war, should have been husbanded, as of precious moment: this, however, Menou did not do to the extent he ought; and hence flowed another source of embarrassment and difficulty to the army.

At the time of Kleber's assassination part of the contribution in money, imposed upon the inhabitants of Cairo, and the whole of the contributions in merchandize, remained unpaid; these were, however, afterwards, collected by Menou, together with part of the ordinary territorial imposts. The pay of the troops was ordered to be discharged regularly and without deduction, and the greater part of the arrears paid up; funds were assigned for the fortifications, and the engineers of the bridges and highways received *more* than was sufficient to continue the demolitions necessary to the defence of Cairo and to add some embellishments to the town. Grants, bounties, an augmentation of indemnity for ratios, various useless expenses, and the immense number of French and Turks employed in the various provinces of the administration, the consequence of a system too much complicated, by degrees raised the expenditure of the army to seventeen or eighteen hundred thousand francs per month; although every change was announced as intending to reduce the expenses of Kleber's administration, which did not exceed thirteen or fourteen

hundred thousand francs ! This is another instance of the determined hostility with which Menou pursued the memory of Kleber.

Very large receipts, the produce of the new duties, were announced in the orders of the day, in which general Menou also incessantly repeated his engagement to maintain the full payment of the troops ; yet, in about three months, all the funds were expended ! The duties on merchandize, as yet, produced little ; the territorial imposts could not be collected till after the inundation : in a short time money was wanting. The Copts were ordered to furnish a forced loan, for which, at first, they were promised a mortgage on the contributions in arrear ; and that security would have produced more if it had been put in effect. The first money gone, new wants succeeded ; and the Copts furnished a second loan. It might be prudent, no doubt, to make them regorge part of their plunder : but general Kleber regarded the Copts as a reserve for moments of great embarrassment ; and, in effect, during the siege of Cairo, he procured from them all the money he wanted.

The reports of citizen Esteve, and other persons charged with the direction of the various branches of the administration, points out with precision the revenues which the French army might have drawn from Egypt in time of war.

The territorial imposts, after Murad Bey occupied Said, could not be taken higher than twelve millions, including the impolitic imposts on the Sheiks, which the French were afterwards compelled to receive as advances on account of the ordinary imposts,	Francs 12,000,000
--	----------------------

The various indirect duties were farmed at about three millions ; but the farmers sustaining losses, it would be necessary to grant them a reduction, at least till commerce should revive,	3,000,000
---	-----------

The duties on corporations and national bodies were fixed, by an ordinance, at two millions, but ought to be reduced : by means, however, of various vexations, these duties might produce,	2,000,000
---	-----------

The mint of Cairo, and the duties for stamping gold and silver articles produced, at the most,	500,000
--	---------

The customs might produce, in time of war, if the commerce with Arabia and the Greeks were encouraged, one million; peace would increase this revenue to many millions,	1,000,000
The <i>oussiehs</i> and the national domains,	1,500,000
The <i>miri</i> of the proprietors and the tribute of Murad Bey,	1,000,000
	<hr/>
Total,	21,000,000

The contributions in kind would be sufficient for the ordinary consumption of the army and to form magazines of reserve.

The sum total of the revenues of Egypt might, therefore, amount to 21,000,000 francs per annum, or 1,750 000 francs per month. But the collection of these revenues depended on the internal tranquillity of the country, which various causes might disturb. An attack, or even the menacing attitude of an enemy, by compelling the troops to concentrate, would entirely suspend the receipts; for throughout the east, as well as in every hostile country, it demands a military force to collect the contributions.

It was, therefore, an essential point to govern the expenditure by the greatest economy; so that, if the sources of revenue suddenly failed, there might always be a reserve found for the wants of the army. But none of these considerations could check general Menou in the career of his innovations nor deter him from an augmentation of the expenditure: he easily persuaded himself, with that overweening confidence which marked his character, that nothing, foreign or internal, could disturb the tranquillity of the country.

In order thoroughly to comprehend the causes of those successes which the English gained in Egypt, under multiplied disadvantages, it is necessary that we should have a correct idea of the state of the French army, its resources, and the talents and character of its chief: for though it is unanimously confessed that British valour was never more signally displayed than during that campaign, yet it is no less certain that the subsequent success arose partly from the misconduct of our enemies: our own writers on the subject allow, that had Menou acted with that effective judg-

ment which was expected, the probability of our finally triumphing would have been highly problematical. It must be remembered, that a primary inducement with the British ministry for sending an army, and so small an army, into Egypt, was the information they had gained from the intercepted letters from that country : by them it appeared, that the French were in a most deplorable condition, without funds, without resources, and almost without a leader ; dissensions in the army, and a want of unanimity among the generals ! hence it was concluded that their entire expulsion from Egypt would be a matter of no difficulty. But these relations were greatly exaggerated ; and the English army, when they arrived there, found their antagonists in a state well calculated to dispute the point with a much larger force than was now brought against them : they were not, however, dismayed, though they could entertain but few rational hopes of ultimate success : they advanced ; the enemy actually made those very dispositions which sir Ralph Abercrombie himself would have dictated could he have influenced the decisions of Menou ! Such advantages, seconded by the bravery of our troops and the judgment of their commanders, led to those happy results, which are well known and enthusiastically remembered.

To explain, therefore, the apparent inconsistencies of these events, and to advance the real dignity of meritorious services by stripping them of all false honours, we have thought it requisite to shew thus far the condition of the French army ; and we shall now add a few more particulars of its operations and situation, between the assassination of Kleber and the landing of the English.

The innovations of general Menou ; his conduct towards various individuals ; the childish declamations, the lessons of morals and probity, so often repeated in the orders of the day, which had the appearance of being addressed to an army profligate and without honour, raised an almost universal discontent. The inhabitants, terrified with such incessant innovation, complained that a *mussulman general*,* *from whom they had reason to expect so much, compelled them to regret the loss of a Christian general !* They were accustomed, under the government of the Turks and

* This man actually embraced the Mahometan faith, and always signed himself *Abdallah J. Menou !*

Mamelukes, to endure all the caprices of their masters, and they would willingly have endured as much from Menou ; but their experience had taught them the mildness of European manners : Buonaparte and Kleber, the immediate predecessors of Menou, had conducted themselves in a very different manner, and won rather than solicited the affections of the people.

Some idea may be formed of the right to which the popular odium against Menou had risen when it is remembered that many of the generals proposed to bring him to trial, while others thought it would be better to prevail upon general Reynier to assume the command, convinced as they were that Menou was wholly unfit for a third party, more moderate than either, wished only that the other generals should unite to remonstrate with and advise him.

This was a proposition very generally conceded to ; and the generals were preparing to wait upon him with this intention, on the 26th October, when the arrival of an officer from Toulon, with despatches, was announced to them : this, of course, put a momentary stop to their designs ; for it might be that those despatches contained the official nomination of some other officer to the command in chief, or, perhaps, the ratified authority of Menou : their doubts and hesitation, however, were removed, by learning that they were still addressed to general Kleber.

Menou, in announcing the news from France of the order of the day, observed that dissensions existed in the army : this was at once a weak and dangerous process, and it seemed to call the more loudly upon the generals of division, Reynier, Dumas, Lanusse, Beliard, and Verdier, to go on with their intended remonstrance ; they, accordingly, went, the same day, to his quarters : general Menou was extremely perplexed by the visit. In this interview the confederated generals observed, That, having constantly lived with the armies, they had seen nothing but union and the greatest good-will among the troops, because intrigues had not before been introduced : that the army of the east enjoyed perfect tranquillity under Buonaparte and Kleber : that with sorrow they perceived the germs of division arising among the troops ; and that, in searching for the cause, they found it in his conduct, since he had taken the command : that the surest means of restoring harmony would

be, to recal some orders, contrary to the general interest ; to govern himself, in future, by the laws of the republic, with the aid of his chief officers ; and, above all things, to banish all intrigues. They dwelt on the mischief of innovations in general, and, more particularly, of some of his ordinances : they urged to him that he could not, in any case, place himself above the French laws : that if he represented the government as to the *civil* administration of Egypt, he was to the army no more than their general in chief ; and that he had, in this quality, a sufficiently extensive latitude to do good. If Egypt was to be declared a colony of France, the government would determine upon the form of its administration ; and that this should be a motive to him not to be impatient to innovate : they insisted that it was imprudent in him publicly to proclaim Egypt a colony, before the government had declared its intentions on that subject : they cited to his mind the policy of Buonaparte and Kleber on that delicate point, and endeavoured to make him feel with inquietude that name would give the Turks : they invited him to follow the example of the generals his predecessors, who had always been sparing of innovation, that the inhabitants might not be alarmed and disgusted at too precipitate changes : to express his orders of the day in more supple language, and to spare his declamations on morals and probity, which seemed to say, that the army was no better than a horde of robbers, whom Buonaparte and Kleber had been unable to discipline : they also demanded that he would not correspond directly with the subaltern officers which was contrary to military usage : they counselled him not to make, in future, any promotions, except the appointments which are left to the discretion of the general in chief on the field of battle, and to fill vacancies : the generals of division also observed to him, that he ought, for the good of the service, and not to check the zeal of the public functionaries, to abstain from discharging persons in office confided to them by the government, without bringing them to a court martial. They spoke to him of the subscription for a monument to Kleber, and of the ill effects that must be produced by his refusal not only to join the subscription, but even to announce it in the order of the day at the same time with Desaix's.

Menou heard all this with various emotions. To the last mentioned remonstrance, he declared *on his honour* (a pledge he carelessly violated) that no one had ever spoken to him on the subject ! But this shameless falsehood was detected to his face, by naming those who had heard his refusal. Thus caught, he promised to mention the subscription in the order of the day. He acknowledged the increase of the price of provisions, occasioned by his new duties, and promised to put the troops in a condition to procure provisions with their indemnity.

The generals cautiously and delicately forbore to complain to him of matters personal to themselves. The discussion was a little violent on some topics : general Menou was embarrassed, and made only vague replies. At length he demanded a day for consideration, declaring that he would give his answer in writing. He did not send the answer ; but, the next day, took occasion to say, to one of the generals, that he found their representations just, but desired time to return gradually to former measures, that he might not be convicted of too much instability.

In this last request he undoubtedly evinced a just conception of the situation of a general in chief. Such is the nature of the human mind, that error itself cannot be renounced by men, who are placed in ostensible situations, without danger : nay, it is often of greater importance to persist in some errors, than to unfix the opinion of inferiors by what might be deemed wavering, fickle, and uncertain conduct. There is nothing which so effectually destroys confidence as perpetual variation in the conduct of those whom you are called upon to confide in. It is a natural presumption, that measures which are duly premeditated, which are gradually matured, which are deliberately weighed, should be permanent and fixed : it is equally natural to suppose that those which are eternally altering have been adopted at random, and executed with precipitancy ; such measures can effect no good : and a frequent repetition of similar incertitude of conduct, tends, infallibly, to generate mistrust, suspicion, and contempt. Whatever, therefore, may have been the defects of the plans pursued by Menou, he was, undoubtedly, right in preferring to ameliorate or abolish them by gradual improvements, so that new ones might supersede those which were erroneous almost insensibly,

and without giving that shock to the minds of people which is invariably attendant upon too quick and too constant a revolution of things. We are not, indeed, fully convinced that such were the politic motives of Menou; it is much more probable that the gratification of personal pride was what he chiefly looked to; and it was more to prevent the appearance of being humbled by a decisive compliance with the will of the generals, than any deep conviction which he felt of the prudence of his measures. Be the cause, however, what it might, the beneficial results were not diminished; and it too often happens in this world that good is educed from the operation of weak or bad passions.

Towards the close of October the generals had another interview with Menou, previous to the funeral ceremonies in honour of Desaix: he then more explicitly confessed the necessity of the changes demanded by the generals; and said, that he had already given orders that some of their suggestions should be carried into effect. He again promised to conduct himself according to the representations that had been made to him.

The troops were assembled on the 31st October, to render a funeral homage to general Desaix.* The ceremony passed with profound silence; but it required a commander in chief of a soldier-like character, to offer, in a worthy manner, to a brave man the expression of the regrets of his brave army. The place renewed the sentiment of the double loss they had sustained: it was in sight of Heliopolis, and of the field of battle in which Kleber had regained Egypt, that the cenotaph was erected. It is painful to relate, that the jealousy and hatred of Menou restrained the feelings of the troops. The generals chose rather to be silent than to exasperate the minds of the soldiers, already too much moved.

About this time general Menou caused offers to be made to generals Dumas, Lanusse, and Verdier, of passports for France; but, zealous for the preservation of Egypt, and seeing the army in feeble hands, they hoped still to be useful, and declined the offer.

Early in November an officer arrived from France. Private letters announced that Menou was confirmed in the

* Our readers will remember that he fell in the battle of Marengo on the very same day (June 14) that Kleber was assassinated in Egypt.

command ; this was officially confirmed a few days after, by the arrival of another officer, who brought him his brevet of commander in chief.

On the same day they had another interview with Menou, who again promised to adopt the changes proposed to him ; but still expressed the desire to introduce them successively.

Such were the feelings of the army towards their head ; they regarded him with no friendly nor faithful eye : they had little confidence in his measures and less in his abilities. The term, however, was passed in which he was to be considered as a commander *ad interim* : the government of his country had nominated him the head ; and, as such, it was now incumbent on the soldiers and officers to shew him obedience, except in any case which might be considered as manifestly injurious to the service. Yet it was a forced obedience ; and history too strongly proves, that an army, fighting under a commander unbeloved, fights without courage and without spirit.

In this disgust, which the army felt towards Menou, strict impartiality may, perhaps, deduct something from the charge of the latter. It is to be considered that Menou stood in a situation that necessarily provoked comparison ; he succeeded two great men who had proved themselves eminently conspicuous in their military talents : he had succeeded Buonaparte, unquestionably the greatest man of the present, or perhaps of any age ; and he had succeeded Kleber, a brave and gallant general, who was, perhaps, as much beloved by the soldiery as the former was admired and feared. The defects of nature are not to be retorted upon an individual, except when he thrusts himself, uncalled, into situations which call in particular for the exercise of those very parts he is deficient in : Menou could be compared neither to Buonaparte, nor Kleber : he neither had the promptitude, the policy, nor grandeur of design which belonged to the former ; and he was far below the latter in magnanimity of character and generosity of soul. Yet he was placed in such circumstances, as unavoidably, impelled those about him to a comparison : but it may, also, be said, that into these circumstances he did not voluntarily enter ; the command *ad interim* was, in a manner, forced upon him, his scruples were overweighed, and the safety of the army represented as being almost dependent upon his

acceptance of its command. Perhaps, indeed, those generals who urged him to this step were fully aware of its accidental responsibilities; and, when they pursued Menou with invective and censure, they only did what they had previously anticipated. Without, however, endeavouring, or even wishing, to defend all the extravagant and capricious actions of this general, we have merely ventured to offer a probable apology for some of the obloquy which has been so liberally heaped upon him.

While these dissensions prevailed in the French army, the grand vizier was at Jaffa, (where he had remained since his retreat from Heliopolis) with ten or twelve thousand men, including horse and foot. The fortifications of this place had been repaired by some English engineers, as well as the breach at El-Arish. He was, however, in no condition to march, though he continually asserted that it was his intention to proceed with offensive operations; this, however, was merely to inspire and connect his forces. He received some reinforcements, but these were balanced by desertions; and the plague, which prevailed in his army, continually reduced his numbers. His troops had not yet forgotten their retreat from Heliopolis; and he was, besides, in open quarrel with the bashaw Ghezzar, who commanded a more numerous army: the greatest dearth afflicted Palestine, the only place under his control, and, consequently, the boundary of his resources. No supplies were to be procured from the inhabitants of the villages; and he was, at length, constrained to import from Europe, under numerous disadvantages, the subsistence for his army; a reinforcement of 10,000 men, assembled at Aleppo, was recalled, to act against Paswan Oglou, who, having raised himself into popularity by his opposition to the imposts of the government, was in formidable rebellion against the Porte.

Receiving little money from Constantinople, the vizier attempted, in December, to raise the value of the coin, to provide pay for his troops, but the army revolted, and it was with difficulty he pacified and retained them under his standard.

In the midst of these difficulties, and finding it impossible to act without an ally, he demanded aid from the English. Part of the English army appeared off Jaffa, towards

the latter end of December, but were prevented from landing, by the apprehensions of the plague, which was making great ravages in the vizier's army. They, therefore, sailed for Rhodes and the Gulf of Macri, to finish their preparations for the campaign.

About the middle of December the vizier received from Constantinople the plan of the campaign, and orders to act in concert with the English generals. The wisdom of this policy, however, in appearing to be particularly connected with the vizier, may reasonably be doubted; since, by this measure, they forfeited the friendship of the Mamelukes, a brave, powerful, and warlike race, who were thus induced to ally themselves more intimately with the French. General Koehler, or Keller, (for it is spelt both ways,) with some officers of the line, and about forty privates, were about this time engaged in disciplining the vizier's troops.

The spies of the French employed in Syria, and the Greek vessels arriving at the ports of Egypt, gave information, about the 10th of January, to general Menou, of these hostile dispositions. Certainly there was every reason to suppose that the English meditated a serious descent upon Egypt; yet Menou could not be persuaded but that the vizier only would attempt it; and that the English, foreseeing the partition of the Ottoman empire, would wish to have their share, would establish themselves at Rhodes, and would thus be possessed of the Archipelago.

A detachment of troops, however, quartered in Upper Egypt, received orders to march to Benezouff, and hold themselves in readiness to proceed to Cairo. Two frigates, which entered the port of Alexandria on the 3d of February, with 300 conscripts, a company of artillery and ammunition, brought more certain intelligence of the designs of the enemy against Egypt; it also brought instructions from the French government for its defence, and announced the sending of more considerable succours. Agreeably to this intelligence, Menou, afterwards, occupied Rahmanieh, that, by securing the Delta, he might facilitate the landing of Gantheaume, with two frigates, and carrying a reinforcement of not less than 5,000 men, which could not, on the arrival of the English fleet, be attempted at Alexandria.

Notwithstanding the extensive preparations of the English, in consequence of the urgent solicitations of the Porte,

and the total incapacity of that power to resist, by itself, the power of France, the Turks were, nevertheless, extremely unwilling to engage vigorously in active measures : many reasons concurred to produce this irresolution. They were considerably awed by the threats of the emperor Paul : this madman, at the evident instigation of Buonaparte, seemed determined to over-run the Ottoman empire ; and the Turks were anxious to avoid, what they dreaded beyond any thing else, the appearance of a Russian army.

Again ; the very appearance of the English, though so much desired and so much needed, now operated as a cause of their indecision : the forces of this country were regarded with suspicion, and the dread of the prospective superiority of the English nearly equalled the apprehension with which the success of the French was regarded ; for, in either case, Egypt might, eventually, be subjected to the yoke of the victorious invader. This apprehension had, undoubtedly, a just foundation ; history is full of truth upon this subject. How many instances are upon record, where weak states, calling in the aid of a superior one, have, finally, been subjected by those whom they invited as their allies and defenders !

The grand vizier had, besides, to counteract the intrigues of the captain Bashaw, the uniform advocate of the French, and whose ascendancy was predominant in the seraglio.

It would seem as if the utmost fatuity was destined to mix itself with every action and every resolution of Menou. The vizier thought that the best mode of counteracting the intrigues of the captain Bashaw would be to conclude a peace with Menou, which should have for its object the evacuation of Egypt. This event, so much wished, had already been upon the point of execution by the treaty of El-Arish, when its rupture, by the English, rendered it abortive : a circumstance which, doubtless, tended to render the British army not only suspected but less respected.

A means was, luckily, open to the vizier of commencing this secret negotiation with Menou, without, at the same time, awakening the suspicion or exciting the resentment of the English. Murad Bey had been encouraged, by Kleber, to correspond with Ibrahim Bey, as a medium of as-

certaining the plans and dispositions of the allies ; this was, therefore, the channel through which the vizier proposed to effect his scheme : he, therefore, requested Murad, through Ibrahim Bey, to offer himself as a mediator between the Turks and French. Murad Bey, in fact, hated the Turks and dreaded their vengeance ; but it was his policy to keep well with all parties : his fate was united with that of the French army.

The proposal of mediation to Murad Bey happened at the time when he was accustomed to send the tribute for his provinces to Cairo. He accepted the instructions of the vizier, and entrusted their conveyance to Cairo to the hands of Osman Bey Bardisi : this last had an interview with Menou on the 19th of February : he laid before that general a statement of the English forces, together with the plan of the approaching campaign. The English army, he affirmed, amounted to eighteen thousand men ;* they were to attempt a landing, in conjunction with the captain Basha, while the vizier crossed the desert, and the English fleet, with troops from India, should arrive at Suez. He produced the letters which Ibrahim wrote to Murad on the part of the grand vizier, who charged Murad to represent to general Menou, that the French could scarcely resist the combined attack of three armies ; that even the victories of the French would be gained by losses, in their circumstances impossible to repair ; and that they must sink under new efforts. Murad Bey, on his own part, prayed general Menou not to forget *his* interests if he should treat ; but offered, in the contrary case, to send him succours, and to aid him with all his resources.

Never was want of policy, never was want of common sense, more grossly betrayed, than in the conduct of Menou on the present occasion. Instead of accepting the proffered assistance of Murad Bey ; instead of availing himself of offers to treat, and, by dissensions between the English and the Turks, weakening both parties, he comported himself towards Osman Bey with coolness and abruptness ; he pretended not to credit the possibility of executing the plan of the campaign laid before him ; he seemed rather to consid-

* This was much exaggerated, we mean as to the *effective* force ; but we shall have occasion to mention the real strength, and to shew the wilful misrepresentations of Reynier on this subject.

er Osman as a spy, deputed to investigate the condition of the French army, than as the ambassador of a mediatorial power: he declared that he had no need of the aid nor of the mediation of any person: and observed that Murad Bey would do well to remain tranquil in the provinces ceded to him and forbear all correspondence with Syria.

To other missions, with which Osman Bey was charged, Menou shewed the same intemperate reception, and the former was extremely perplexed as to what measures to pursue. He related the circumstances of his interview to general Dumas and the inspector, Daure, with whom he was more particularly acquainted: both these generals endeavoured to convince him that he ought to take no offence at a few harsh words falling from Menou; and said, that he might assure Murad Bey of the esteem and attachment of all the French.

Osman remained at Cairo to take back despatches from general Menou. On the news of the appearance of the English fleet in the road of Aboukir, he repeated Murad's offers, to strengthen the French army with all his resources; but he received only evasive answers, and was, soon afterwards, ordered to quit Cairo and return to Murad Bey. Thus terminated the overtures towards a negotiation, which, had it been skilfully managed, might have proved of the greatest importance to the French. Had Buonaparte been at that time at the head of the Egyptian army, what a different turn would, probably, have been given to its affairs! That consummate general and able politician would have seen at once the obvious advantage of such overtures, and would have exerted all his means to procure a division between the English and the Turks, even though he might not have quitted Egypt; which, as it was his favourite scheme, it is probable he would have endeavoured to obviate by delays and obstacles.

During the time we are now speaking of, the plague shewed itself at Cairo and in many of the neighbouring villages; at the same time it broke out in Upper Egypt. The finances were collected by force, the military chest was nearly exhausted, and the magazines were unprovided with corn, of which there had been a scarcity among the French since the death of Kleber: it was, therefore, with considerable pleasure that they saw two ships arrive in the port of

Alexandria, from France, on the 1st of March. *La Rege-
nerée** brought two hundred men, of the 51st demi-brigade,
a company of artillery, and ammunition; the brig *La Lodi*
communicated the satisfactory intelligence of Gantheaume's
squadron, with the promised reinforcements.

All eyes were now anxiously turned towards Egypt: two
of the most powerful of European nations were contending
on its shores for the possession of the east; on whichever
side the balance might incline, the event was important,
not only to England and France, but to the whole civilized
world: yet England could not look on without unusual
interest. It had, all along, been the policy of Buonaparte
to aim at the commerce of England; hoping that, if he
could paralyze that, he might, finally, succeed in subju-
gating the realm. It remains, however, a problem with
many of our modern politicians, whether we need depend
at all, as a nation, upon foreign trade: but those who were
not of this opinion waited, in awful suspense, the termina-
tion of a contest which would, probably, decide the exist-
ence of the most important of our commercial possessions.
Securely and quietly possessed of Egypt, Buonaparte might
there organize the means of disturbing our East India ter-
ritories, and, perhaps, of finally driving us from thence, by
inciting the surrounding states to hostilities and insurrec-
tions. Having no use for a navy, he would transport his
forces over land; previously acquiring, by negotiation, the
amity and concurrence of those states, whose country he
must pass through. It was, indeed, a gigantic plan, but
neither beyond the comprehension of the hero who con-
ceived it, nor removed so far from possibility as to deter
his enterprising genius from attempting it: it must, how-
ever, have been a work of time, and, perhaps, might, ulti-
mately, have failed; yet the probability of its success, nay,
the very contemplation of such a scheme, was sufficient to

* It may, perhaps, excite some surprise, that a French frigate should reach Alex-
andria when our ships were covering the Mediterranean; one thing was, that the
English vessels, which had been blockading this port, were gone to join the fleet under
lord Keith in the bay of Aboukir. However, it is a fact, that *La Rege-
nerée*, finding herself, unexpectedly, in the midst of the English fleet, so completely disguised her-
self that she continued with it unsuspected: this she did a whole day, answering the
various signals made, without exciting the smallest suspicion: on the following morning
she stood in for Alexandria, and, hoisting French colours, proved, unequivocally, her
nation! We agree with sir Robert Wilson, that this is an honourable anecdote to the
credit of the French captain of *La Rege-
nerée*, and we feel pleasure in recording it.

alarm those whose interests were intimately connected with its ultimate decision.

England, in the contest which she thus undertook, had many difficulties, proportioned to the magnitude of the object, to surmount. The vizier, with his usual irresolution, yet debated on the propriety of co-operation; while the captain bashaw, who was at Constantinople with part of his fleet, inclined to treat with the enemy. The English taking the unpopular side, that of the government, still less was to be hoped from the countenance and support of the people, whom the French had long flattered with the idea of freedom and independence. Nor were these the only obstacles: this expedition had to contend with an army, habituated to the country, respected, at least, if not beloved, by the inhabitants, and flushed with reputation and success: an army inured to danger, aware of the importance of Egypt to their government, determined to defend the possession of it: and encouraged in this determination, no less by the assurance of speedily receiving effectual succours, than by the promise of reward and love of glory.

The English fleet, ships of war of various kinds, boats and transports, having set sail from Malta, 10th of December, had arrived at Marmorice, on the coast of Caramania, on the 28th of December, and had captured on its passage a vessel, bound from Alexandria to Marseilles, from which some information was acquired respecting the French force at Alexandria. At Marmorice the whole army was alternately put on shore, paraded, and refreshed; and was joined by a convoy of Greeks and Turks, who, however, deserted during the strong westerly gales, on the passage to Aboukir, where the English arrived on the 2d of March. Too much of the day of their arrival had elapsed to admit of the landing being effected before the approach of night; and an unfortunate succession of strong northerly gales, attended by a heavy swell, augmenting the difficulties of a coast naturally dangerous, rendered it, till the 8th, impossible to disembark. Though it was not originally intended to have commenced operations on the side of Alexandria, the long delay of the fleet at Marmorice for the vain purpose of securing a reinforcement of Greeks and Turks, induced the general to change his opinion and to proceed at this time.

From the time of the arrival of the English at Aboukir* to their landing, they had the mortification of seeing the scattered divisions of the French army marching daily along the beach into that fort, and batteries erected on the sand-hills to oppose their disembarkation. On the evening of March 7th, the wind changing to the northward, and the sea becoming more calm, the general was enabled to reconnoitre the shore, and determine on the spot for landing: while sir Sidney Smith, who had been dispatched to lake Maadie, in three armed launches, to ascertain some points, the possession of which might be of service, having assailed a battery, taken a blockhouse, defended by forty men, and boarded a guard-boat at the entrance of Aboukir lake, returned with a chief of brigade captive, and an ass with its driver, to the unspeakable amusement of the whole fleet. Trivial as this event may appear, its effect on the army was electric; every man wished to have been of the party, and looked forward to the morning with emulation. That morning came, so big with fate to many of our gallant countrymen, who breathed their last on the parched shores of Egypt in defence of their country.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE British army were in want of many comforts; but, what was still more important, they were in total want of correct information respecting Egypt. Not a map to be depended upon could be procured, and the best draught,

* Aboukir, is a small port, E. N. E. of Alexandria; the interval along the coast is rocky and dangerous. Though the Rosetta branch of the Nile is navigable to small vessels, yet none, of force sufficient to cover a landing, can approach it. The Delta coast is shoal to the Damietta branch which admits of vessels of great burthen, but not sufficient to obtain a footing against any well directed resistance; farther along the coast, to Jaffa and Acre, it is worse. The lake Mareotis, extending along the south side of the peninsula of Aboukir, was the ancient mouth of the Nile by Canopus. The sea penetrating, without resistance, into the bed forsaken by the Nile, enlarged it more and more into a vast lake, and still continues to enlarge it; insomuch, that the isthmus which unites Aboukir to the continent, and along which the canal is carried, which furnishes water to Alexandria, is threatened with final ruin. For the defence of this isthmus, the Arabian princes, the caliphs, set about forming a mound, or *dyke*, of which, however, traces are only to be found in two places. It is conjectured, either that it was never completed, or that it gave way before the violence of the waves, which are dashed against it, for part of the year, by the northern winds. This lake, except in the season of the inundation, is nearly dry.

from which information could be formed, and which was distributed to the generals, proved ridiculously incorrect. Sir Sidney Smith was the only officer who knew any thing of the locality of the coasts, and he, certainly, as far as he had seen, gave perfect information; but he had never been in the interior of the country. It is, however, a positive fact, extraordinary as it may appear, that so little was sir Ralph Abercrombie acquainted with the strength of the enemy he was preparing to attack, that he rated their force, at the greatest calculation, at only 10,000 French, and 5,000 auxiliaries, and, even then, exceeding the number stated in the official information sent from home, and on which the expedition was originally formed.

General Reynier having industriously endeavoured to misrepresent the effective force of the British army, we shall state it exactly :

It consisted of the following regiments, amounting to 15,330 men, including 999 sick, 500 Maltese, and all kinds and descriptions of people attached to an army except officers. The effective force was not, at the highest computation, therefore, above 12,000; and indeed that number, within two hundred, was the return given in to the commander in chief.

Guards, major-general Ludlow.

1st, or Royals, 2d battalions, 54th, 92d, major-general Coote.

8th, 13th, 90th, major-general Craddock.

2d, or Queen's, 50th, 79th, major-general lord Cavan.

18th, 30th, 44th, 89th, brigadier-general Doyle.

Minorca, De Rolle's, Dillon's, major-general Stuart.

RESERVE :

40th, Flank Company, 23d, 28th, 42d, 58th, Corsican Rangers, detachment of the 11th dragoons, ditto Homspech's regiment, major-general Moore.

12th Dragoons, 26th Dragoons, brigadier-general Finch.

Artillery and Pioneers, brigadier-general Lawson.

It must be allowed, even at the calculation of the supposed strength of the enemy, that to attack, with such a force, the possessors of a country, strengthened by the advantages of strong fortified posts, a numerous cavalry, powerful artillery, and a perfect acquaintance with those few points where a debarkation was practicable, was an enter-

prise of the most audacious character. What then must be the astonishment of all military men at the success of the expedition, when the real force of the enemy is ascertained !

The wind continuing moderate, and the swell of the sea subsiding, on the morning of the 8th March, at two o'clock, the first division of the army, consisting of the reserve, under the orders of major-general Moore, the brigade of guards under major-general Ludlow, and a part of the 1st brigade, composed of the royals, 1st battalion of the 54th, 200 of the 2d battalion, the whole amounting to about 5,500 men, under the command of major-general Coote, assembled in the boats; the remainder of the first and second brigade being put into ships close to the shore, that a support might be quickly given after the first landing was effected. At three o'clock, on the signal rocket from the admiral's ship, the boats having received the troops, proceeded to rendezvous near the ship *Mondovi*, which was anchored about a gun-shot from the shore. Here they were to assemble, and be drawn up within the armed vessels, stationed to cover their landing, and wait for orders. This division of the army occupied about 150 gun-boats. The clear silence of the night and the interesting solemnity of the scene no words can adequately describe. Along a space of six miles to the shore, nothing was to be heard but the deep murmur of thousands of oars dipping in the sea, and incessantly urging the flower of a brave army to the severest destiny of man ! The extent of the anchorage was so great, that the assembling and arrangement of the boats could not be completed till near nine o'clock.

And here let the reader pause for a moment, to dwell on this solemn scene, and image to himself the feelings, the impatience, the suspense, which agitated every mind ; the hopes and fears which distracted the spectators ; the anxiety of the gallant sir Ralph Abercrombie for the success of this hardy enterprise ; and the fate of the intrepid men who so cheerfully engaged to execute his orders ! The heart of the brave man will beat high with enthusiasm.

The right flank of the boats were protected by the *Cruelle* cutter and the *Dangereuse* and *Janizary* gun vessels ; the left by the *Entrepennant* cutter, *Malta* schooner, and *Negress* gun vessel ; on each flank were also two launches

of the fleet, armed, to supply the place of the Turkish gun-boats, which had separated on the passage. Sir Sidney Smith, with a detachment of seamen directed to co-operate with the army, had charge of the launches, which contained the field artillery. At nine o'clock the signal was made for the boats to advance : they sprung forwards at the same instant, and the whole scene became animation ! The French, to the number of two thousand men, posted on the top of the sand-hills, forming the concave arch of a circle on the front, of about a mile, (in the centre of which elevated itself a nearly perpendicular height of sixty yards, apparently inaccessible,) had looked down with wonder at the preparation ; and, since, confessed, that they could not believe the attempt would even have been made ; but, when they saw the boats moving with extraordinary rapidity to the shore, and the armed vessels opening their guns, they could no longer doubt the seriousness of the intention, and immediately opened a tremendous discharge of grape shot, and shells of all dimensions ; and, as the boats approached, the shower of grape and musketry seemed so to plough the surface of the water that nothing on it could live ; for a moment it even checked and compelled some of the boats rather to close upon the left ; but the impulse returned with increased ardour, and, pressing through the storm, the rowers forced to the beach : the reserve leaped out of the boats on the shore and formed as they advanced ; the 23d and 40th rushed up the heights with almost preternatural energy, never firing a shot, but charging with the bayonet the two battalions which crowned it ; breaking them, and pursuing till they carried the Two Nole Hills in the rear, which commanded the plain to the left ; taking, at the same time, three pieces of cannon. The 42d regiment had landed, and formed as on a parade, then mounted the position, notwithstanding the fire from two pieces of cannon and a battalion of infantry : the moment they gained the height two hundred French dragoons attempted to charge them, but were as quickly repulsed.

The boats of the guards had scarce felt the beach, and the men began to jump out, before the same body of cavalry, who had rallied behind the sand-hills, charged suddenly upon them : this unexpected attack caused a momentary disorder : but the 58th regiment, formed already

on their right, by their fire checked the enemy, and gave time for the guards to present a front, when the cavalry again retreated with considerable loss. The 54th and royals, from being in transport boats, did not reach the shore so soon as the others, but landed at the instant a column of six hundred infantry was advancing, with fixed bayonets, through a hollow, against the left flank of the guards : the French, on seeing them, hesitated, then, firing a volley, retreated. This moment of exultation cannot be described, but the most callous mind must be sensible to its effect.

The French finding the British in full possession of the heights, and general Coote advancing with the guards and his brigade, ran from all points of their position, but in the rear sand-hills, maintained, for about an hour and a half a scattered fire ; when they were, finally, obliged to retreat, having lost three hundred men, eight pieces of cannon, and many horses. The boats returned immediately for the remainder of the army, which, by the great exertions of the navy, were all landed before night. Sir Ralph Abercrombie, impressed with the strongest feelings of gratitude and admiration, came on shore, and took up a position distant about three miles, with his right to the sea and left on lake Maadie.

The loss of the British amounted in this affair to nearly five hundred men, among whom were several gallant officers.

General Reynier among other falsehoods, (with which his work abounds respecting the military operations of the English in Egypt,) asserts that the infantry laid down in the bottom of their boats, while the sailors, indifferent to the French artillery, rowed with vigour to the shore. " What kind of boats," says sir Robert Wilson, " must those flats have been which would have allowed of such an extension ? Is it possible that any one can be ignorant of the necessity of troops, in all debarkations, wedging as close as possible together in an upright position, or how could fifty men be carried in each boat ! malignity should always thus defeat itself.

" From a consideration of the enemy's strength," continues sir Robert, " and an observation of the map, military men must pronounce that a landing, in the face of such a position, was nearly impracticable, where both parties did their duty : but it would be unjust to insinuate that the French did not behave with spirit and resolution. Their

defence was strictly good, and the conquest one of those singular phenomena which occasionally occur, to animate the brave with a confidence, that brilliant exertions, supported by persevering courage, may surmount mathematical improbabilities, and snatch a victory where cold calculation would predict a certain defeat. The event, however, does not, in all cases, justify the councils ; but sir Ralph Abercrombie's peculiar situation must be considered, and weigh heavily in the enquiry. Had he been alarmed at the formidable appearance of the position, it is too much to be feared, that his prudence, however just, would have involved himself and army in eternal and irretrievable obloquy."

After the action the army employed itself in digging to find water, as sir Sidney Smith assured the troops that, wherever date-trees grew, water must be near. The fact proved so, and the commander in chief found himself relieved from an anxiety which might otherwise have determined him still to relinquish the enterprize. An Arab came to sir Sidney Smith, and shewed him a well, which he said had been closed by him ever since the French landed. This was an act of friendship which augured favourably of the general disposition.

The French commander of Aboukir castle refusing to surrender, the queen's, and 26th dismounted dragoons, were ordered to blockade it. On the 9th of March the army advanced its position a short way, and there posted, in three lines. On the 10th some skirmishing between the advanced posts took place ; 20 Corsican rangers were taken and the surgeon of the corps, by the sudden advance of a body of cavalry. Colonel Spencer, who had been out reconnoitring with general Moore, narrowly escaped.

The news of the landing of the English had reached Cairo on the 13th, and Menou immediately took precautions for reinforcing the garrison ; so that, when the English came in sight of the enemy, they found them strongly posted among sand-hills, and palm-trees, four miles from the walls of the ancient Alexandria, eastward, and numbering about 6,000 infantry, besides a body of 600 cavalry, aided by flying artillery. The English amounted to 13 or 14 thousand, but their cavalry was badly mounted, and they were deficient in artillery ; early on the morning of the 13th they moved forward, however, to the attack. The left wing

was first in motion, taking the edge of lake Maadie, and designing to turn the right of the French ; the right, acting as a reserve, covered the movement, and kept in a parallel with the first line. The centre marched slowly on the other side of a height, which, concealing them from view, general Lanusse imagined the left wing to be insulated. Under this persuasion, he advanced into the plain, hoping to overpower it by a brisk attack : this was conducted with all the impetuosity of French cavalry, and as resolutely repulsed by the 90th and 92d regiments, particularly the former, whom their antagonists unfortunately mistook for dismounted cavalry, but found them on their knees prepared to receive the charge : meanwhile the English centre had appeared on the height. As it was no longer possible to flank the left wing, Lanusse commenced his retreat, which he conducted with great ability, to the heights of Nicopolis. From this position the French might have easily been forced by the ardour of their assailants, who, in the midst of a victorious career, were ordered to desist : on reconnoitring the situation of the enemy, it was judged imprudent to attempt a position that could not, when gained, be occupied. Recovering from their dismay, on seeing a halt commanded at the moment when they expected to be driven within the walls of the city, the French came forward, and enjoyed the satisfaction of galling the retreat of the English.

This action was highly creditable to the gallantry and discipline of the British, whose movements were executed with the same steadiness and accuracy as if at a review in England. The loss of the English was about 1,100 men killed and wounded : the French, of course, did not suffer so much ; but, above 500 of them were put *hors-du-combat*. Four field-pieces were also taken, and a great quantity of ammunition. Sir Ralph Abercrombie in the action had a horse shot under him.

The English, with their right to the sea, near the Roman camp, and their left to the canal of Alexandria, at this time dry, opposite the point of lake Maadie, were assiduously employed in getting their heavy cannon on shore and fortifying their camp. The French, leaving a strong guard on the heights of Nicopolis, to impose on the English, employed themselves in repairing the works of Alexandria ; dispatching, also a vessel to acquaint the government with

what had happened, and to inform Gantheaume of the position of the English fleet, On the 19th of March Fort Aboukir capitulated to the English : while Menou, arriving from Cairo, the whole of his disposable force was on the 20th, concentrated at Alexandria. This junction might, perhaps, have been prevented, had the English, by cutting the dyke, which separates it from lake Maadie, let the sea into the lake Marcotis.

On the 19th the supply in the market, which had been established, altogether failed, from the advance of general Menou, whose patrols had fallen in with and killed several Arabs bringing sheep.

On the 20th an Arab chief sent a letter to sir Sidney Smith, acquainting him of the arrival of general Menou with a large army, and that it was his intention to surprise and attack the British camp next morning ; but much confidence was not placed in the communication at headquarters, although sir Sidney was convinced in his own mind of the honesty and truth of the information, and assured his friends of that event taking place.

On the night of the 20th the position of the army had been strengthened by a battery, not closed in the rear, erected a little in front, and to the left of the ruins of Ptolemy's palace, from whence the space to the sea was open. In front of the right of the guards was a redoubt ; on their left a large battery, where the signal-staff was hoisted, which was afterwards called the citadel : on the left of the line a redoubt, and on the canal of Alexandria two works. On the whole line were two 24-pounders, and 34 field pieces.

After these various actions there was every reason to expect a general engagement : and sir Ralph Abercrombie, being ignorant of the junction of the army before Alexandria, was anxious that this might be the case.

The English occupied a line about a mile in extent, nearly four miles from Alexandria, having a sandy plain in their front, the sea on their right, and the lake of Aboukir and the canal of Alexandria, at that time dry, on their left. Their flanks were covered by gun-boats and redoubts filled with artillery. Here Menou resolved to attack them on the ensuing morning. He proclaimed a *Louis d'or* for each man who would volunteer to commence the action by turning the right of his enemy. This was undertaken by the

invincibles, amounting to 900 men. Even in this we may observe the character of Menou, and the great disparity between him and Buonaparte. That great man would never have resorted to the poor expedient of stimulating his soldiers by the hope of pecuniary reward; it was his constant custom to hold before their eyes fame, renown, and honourable wounds; perhaps there never was a general who led his army forward more by the impulse of pure and unmixed military glory; in modern times, certainly no one has so closely followed that grandeur of motive that we so much admire in the Greeks and Romans. It is impossible not be struck with the animating and forceful harangues, proclamations, &c. of Buonaparte to his army: the spirit of an ancient Roman shines through them, and seems to say, "This man deserves to command." But to return:

On the memorable 21st of March the English army as usual, was under arms at three o'clock in the morning; all was quiet till half past three o'clock, when the report of a musket was heard at the extremity of the left; instantly afterwards a cannon was fired, scattered musketry succeeded, and then two more guns.

An hour before daylight the French troops assembled at the advanced posts. General Lanusse believed that the English redoubts might be easily carried by grenadiers, supported by the head of the columns. He marched his two brigades in close column, intending to form them beyond the main redoubt and the Roman camp, and fall upon the right of the English army. The brigade of general Lilly was to march directly against the redoubt; that of general Valentin to follow the shore, passing between the sea and the Roman camp. The centre was to march close to the right of general Lilly's brigade, following it as a second line; and, on the first success, vigorously to attack, along with the right wing, the position of redoubts of the enemy's centre. But the division of the French centre, with two bodies, each with its separate commanding officer, and subdivided again by the detaching of its grenadiers, deprived it of that combined action necessary to the complete accomplishment of its orders. The right wing was to form between the lakes and the centre to attack the opposite wing of the enemy as soon as the enemy's right was broken: they were also to detach a corps between the two

lakes to occupy the left of the English, and to prevent their sending a body against Alexandria ; this wing was to be supported by general Bron, detached with two regiments of cavalry to the basin of lake Mareotis, and also by a false attack of dromedaries on the side of Bedah. It was the more confidently to be expected that this false attack would greatly occupy the English and prevent detachments from their left wing, being, as we have already mentioned, ignorant of the junction before the army of Alexandria, and might expect to be attacked on that side ; and these movements, if successful, would give the advantage of acting with equal forces on their right. The cavalry were to march in a second line behind the infantry till the left had broken the line of the English, when they were to seize the moment of disorder to decide the victory by a vigorous charge.

Such were the dispositions of the French army. Let us now return to our countrymen.

We have already mentioned, that, about half past three o'clock, a firing was heard on the left : this was the false attack of the French. For a moment attention was directed to that quarter ; all were convinced that a general attack was commencing, but it was immediately evident that the firing was too feeble on the left to believe that to be the point of the enemy's serious object. Indeed this was the universal sentiment ; and general Moore, who, as general officer of the night, on the first alarm, proceeded to the left, was so impressed with this idea that he turned back to the right.

For a few minutes all was still ; but it was the awful suspense of anxious expectation, not of apprehension. Every eye was painfully extended forwards through the gloomy mist of the atmosphere, and the ears strained to catch the smallest sound. Occasionally the eastern horizon was anxiously regarded ; but though the grey of the morning was perceptible, it seemed reluctantly to break. On a sudden, loud shouts were heard in front of the right, which fully certified the enemy's intention ; a roar of musketry immediately succeeded, and the action there became general.

The enemy, covered by the unequal surface of the ground, had advanced, unperceived, as far as the videttes, and con-

tinued to press on with them, and the retiring piquettes of infantry, to the main position, with all possible celerity ; one column directed itself upon the ruins, where the 58th were posted, the front of which was considerably more extensive than the front of the regiment ; but some parts of the wall still standing, it admitted of the regiment's dividing itself ; but scarcely, notwithstanding, did the troops fill up the different openings. Colonel Houston, who commanded, faintly perceived the column of the enemy advancing, with beat of drums and huzzas ; but, fearing lest the English piquettes might be preceding, he allowed it to approach so close that the glazed hats were clearly distinguished, when he ordered the grenadiers to fire, which was followed by the whole regiment, and repeated with several rounds. These continued and well directed discharges not only checked but made the enemy's column retire quickly into a hollow, some distance in their rear, when it, shortly afterwards, wheeled to the right, and endeavoured to force round the redoubt in front of its left, with another column directing its march upon the battery. The 28th regiment, stationed there, opened a heavy fire on that part of the enemy which attempted to storm the redoubt in front ; but the main body of the two columns, now joined to a third, forced in behind the redoubt, and, while some remained to attack it thus in the rear, the rest penetrated into the ruins. Colonel Crowjye, who commanded the left of the 58th, observing their advance, through the openings, wheeled back two companies, and, after two or three rounds of fire, advanced on the enemy with the bayonet. At this instant the 23d regiment appeared to support, having moved for that purpose from its station, and the 42d also advancing on the exterior side of the ruins, to cover the opening on the left of the redoubt, to cut off the troops which had entered : after a severe loss, they were obliged to surrender. The 28th regiment had presented, as well as the 58th, the extraordinary spectacle of troops fighting, at the same time, to the front, flanks, and rear. Although thus surrounded, the 28th regiment remained fixed to the platform of the parapet, and, preserving its order, continued a contest unexampled before this day.

The advance of the 42d relieved the 28th, for a moment, from this unequal attack ; but as that regiment approached

the right of the redoubt, floundering over the tents, and in the holes dug in the encampment of the 28th regiment, charged *en masse* and overwhelmed the 42d : yet, though broken, this gallant corps was not defeated ; individually it resisted ! and the conduct of each man exalted still more the high character of the regiment. Colonel Spencer (who, with the flank companies of the 40th, had taken his station in the intervals of the ruins) was, for some seconds, afraid to order his men to fire, lest he should destroy the 42d, so intermixed with the enemy : but the cavalry pressing on, and directing itself against that interval, he was obliged to command the firing, which stopped the cavalry's advances : yet such a feeble force must have instantly been overpowered, if, at this critical moment, general Stuart, with the foreign brigade from the second line, had not advanced, in the most perfect order, and poured in such a heavy and well directed fire that nothing could withstand it, and the enemy fled or perished. It was in this charge of the cavalry that the gallant sir Ralph Abercrombie, always anxious to be the most forward in danger, received his mortal wound : on the first alarm he had mounted his horse, and, finding that the right was seriously engaged, proceeded thither : when he came near the ruins he dispatched his aids-de-camp with some orders to different brigades ; and, while thus alone, some dragoons of the French cavalry penetrated to the spot, and he was thrown from his horse : one of them (from the tassel of his sword supposed to be an officer) then rode at him and attempted to cut him down ; but, just as the point of the sword was falling, his natural heroism, and the energy of the moment, so invigorated the veteran general, that he seized the sword and wrested it from the uplifted hand ; at that instant the officer was bayoneted by a soldier of the 42d. Sir Ralph Abercrombie did not know the moment of his receiving the wound in his thigh, but complained severely of the contusion in his breast, supposed to be given by the hilt of the sword in the scuffle. Sir Sidney Smith was the first officer who came to sir Ralph, and who, by an accident had broken his own sword, which sir Ralph observing, he instantly presented to him the one he had so gloriously acquired.*

* This sword sir Sidney Smith means to place on his monument. " A singular circumstance," says sir Robert Wilson, from whose well written, manly, and impartial

Sir Ralph (as the cavalry was by this time repulsed) walked to the redoubt on the right of the guards, from which he could command a view of the whole field of battle. The French, although driven out of the camp, by no means gave up the contest on the right. A second charge of cavalry was attempted, by their reserve, against the foreign brigade, but completely failed. After this their infantry did not keep any longer in a body, but acted *en tirailleur*, except that a battalion maintained still a little *fleche* in front of the redoubt, on each flank of which republican colours were flying.

The ammunition of the English being by this time totally exhausted, the regiments of the reserve were obliged to remain without firing a shot, some not having one round left; and, for a time, there was not one cartouch for the guns in the battery! While such was the state of the contest on the right the attack on the centre had also continued. As soon as day dawned a column of grenadiers had advanced, supported by a heavy line of infantry, to the assault of this part of the position: the guards, posted there, at first threw out their flankers to oppose them, but these being driven in when the column approached very near, general Ludlow directed the brigade to fire, which they did with the greatest precision. The French general, seeing the *escheillon* formation, had advanced to turn the left flank of the guards; but the officer commanding there instantly wheeled back some companies, which checked their movement; and the advance of general Coote with his brigade compelled them to retreat. Finding this effort ineffectual they then dispersed as sharp-shooters, and kept up a very destructive fire, at the same time that the French cannon played incessantly. The left of the British was never seriously engaged, it was only exposed to partial musketry and a distant cannonade.

The French on the right, during the want of ammunition among the British, had attempted to approach again close to the redoubt; and some of them having also exhausted

* History of the British expedition, the above account is chiefly taken) "happened almost immediately afterwards: major Hall, aid-de-camp to general Craddock, while going with orders, had his horse killed. Seeing sir Sidney, he begged to mount his orderly man's horse. As sir Sidney was turning round, to bid him give it to major Hall, a cannon-ball struck off the dragoon's head. 'This,' exclaimed sir Sidney, 'is destiny! the horse, major Hall, is yours.'"

theirs, absolutely pelted stones, from the ditch, at the 28th, who returned these unusual, yet not altogether harmless, instruments of violence, as a sergeant of the 28th was killed by one breaking through his forehead; but the grenadier company of the 40th moving out, the assailants ran away; the sharp-shooters in front left the hollows they were covered by, and the battalion also evacuated the *fleche*.

At length general Menou, finding that every one of his movements had failed, and that the British lines had suffered no serious impression, to justify the hopes of an eventual success, determined on a retreat; his lines retired, in very good order, under the heights of their position; but fortunately for them, there was such a want, on the part of the English, of ammunition, otherwise the slaughter would, at least, have been double, as the ground they had to pass over presented a glacis for the farthest range of shot: as it was, the cannon on the left did much execution, and also the king's cutters on the right, which had, during the whole action, most gallantly remained in their station, although exposed to a body of the enemy within half musket shot, expressly firing at them, and who had the advantage of a considerable elevation. A corps of French cavalry, posted at the bridge on the canal of Alexandria, to protect the right flank of their lines, and to prevent a movement from the British left, deserve equally to be mentioned, for the steadiness with which it maintained its ground, although the shot plunged constantly into the ranks.

At about ten o'clock A. M. the action ceased; but it was not till the defeat of the French was thus absolutely assured, that sir Ralph Abercrombie, who had remained in the battery, (where, several times, he had nearly been killed by cannon-shot,) could be prevailed upon to quit the field: he had continued walking about, paying no attention to his wound, only, occasionally, complaining of a pain in his breast from the contusion. Officers, who went to him in the course of the action, returned without knowing, from his manner or appearance, that he had been wounded, and many only ascertained it by seeing the blood trickling down his clothes! At last, his spirit, when exertion was no longer necessary, yielded to nature: he became faint, was placed in a hammock, and borne to the *depot*, cheered by the feeling expressions and blessings of the soldiers as he passed!

he was then put into a boat, accompanied by his aid-de-camp and esteemed friend, sir Thomas Dyer, and carried to lord Keith's ship.

Such was the honourable and distinguished termination to the British arms of the memorable 21st of March, and which left behind but one cause of regret, the death of the brave man who had led our troops on to victory. But the field of battle proves a common grave alike to the glorious and inglorious; and the philosopher, perhaps, would bid his tears flow as readily for the common soldier, dying bravely, as for the victorious general.

It was in this battle that the French standard was taken, the honour of which has been so strongly contested by different claimants. As an event strongly connected with general and individual honour, and rendered interesting, both from its own nature and the subsequent displeasure shewn by Buonaparte to those who had lost it, we presume it will not be altogether uninteresting to our readers to find here a summary of this affair. Sir Robert Wilson, in his esteemed work, has taken much pains to investigate the business; and, as his account has not been dissented from, we shall follow him in our details.

The 42d regiment, and a private of the Minorca, by name Anthony Lutz, claim equally the trophy. Major Stirling first obtained possession of it when the 42d so gallantly advanced to relieve the 28th and 58th: this officer gave it to the care of sergeant Sinclair, who, in the subsequent charge of the French cavalry, lost it. When the Minorca advanced to relieve the 42d, and routed the enemy, the French had recovered the colours; but Lutz, perceiving the standard, advanced from the ranks and fired at the officer who was carrying it, and who was some way behind his men: the officer fell; and Lutz, seizing the standard, reloaded his piece, and was proceeding to join his regiment, when two dragoons rode at him: he fired, and killed the horse of one, then rushed upon the rider, whose foot was entangled in the stirrup; but the man begging his life, and surrendering his arms, Lutz granted him quarter, and carried the prisoner, with the colours, to his officer, lieutenant Markoff, who ordered him to head-quarters, where he received the regulated reward. The other dragoon who had rode to attack Lutz, fled when he saw the horse of his com-

rade fall. These facts have been properly attested and proved in a court of inquiry, which sat expressly to investigate the affair.

It appears, therefore, that the 42d were first in possession of the standard ; but that sergeant Sinclair (to whose charge it was entrusted) being wounded, it was afterwards retaken by the French ; that Lutz, by an act of great personal bravery, recovered it from the enemy, and bore it in safety to the head-quarters of sir Ralph Abercrombie. A certificate was, in consequence, granted to Lutz, in testimony of his honourable conduct, and a bounty of twenty dollars on the spot ; and, afterwards, it was ordered, that he should wear the *representation of a standard*, as a mark of his good behaviour, on his left breast. These badges, commemorative of meritorious services, are admirable methods of rewarding courage, and stimulating to it, and of keeping it alive in the bosom. A man who distinguishes himself, and is merely remunerated with a few pounds, spends his paltry acknowledgment, and forgets his own heroism ; at least, it is known only to himself, unless he boasts to every one he meets of what he has done : but when he carries perpetually about him an external mark, in memory of his own worth, he not only feels a constant stimulus to preserve the name he has acquired, but he continually reads, in the looks and words of others, the gratifying acknowledgment of his own worthiness, without being compelled to ask for praise by a verbal relation of his deeds. If there be a thing on earth capable of generating courage in the human bosom, it would be the ambition of acquiring a distinctive and honourable badge. General Reynier, with the accustomed indifference to truth which is characteristic of his countrymen, states, that the battalion to which these colours belonged was composed chiefly of Copts.—“But,” says sir Robert Wilson, very pertinently, “how Copts came to carry a standard on which *Le passage de la Scrivia ; Le passage du Tagliamento ; Le passage de l’Isenzo ; La prise de Graz ; Le pont de Lodi*, are inscribed, general Reynier can only explain.”

The loss of the English in this action, was six officers and 233 men killed ; 60 officers and 1,190 men wounded ; three officers and 29 men missing. The English tents were torn to pieces by the shot, and thousands of brass cannon-balls were glistening in the sand.

The conduct of every individual in the British army was distinguished on this memorable day ; and, among those who most conspicuously signalized themselves, praise seems, unanimously, to be awarded to general Moore ; his exertions, personal courage, and ability, contributed much to the success of the day, and enhanced that character which his former brilliant services acquired him : wounded, early in the action, through the leg, he refused to quit the field, and continued in an activity almost beyond belief, when the nature of such a wound is considered.

The conduct of the troops cannot but excite wonder in military men, of whatever nation they may be ; surrounded, partly broken, without ammunition, still to continue the contest, and remain conquerors, is an extraordinary evidence of intrepidity, discipline, and inherent conduct. The British service may not only pride itself on that day for the battle gained, but as it serves for the groundwork of future glory, and, if its details are properly impressed, must universally diffuse instruction and confidence in danger.

It is, however, universally admitted, that our success would have been doubtful but for the palpable misconduct of Menou : his arrangements were so frequently inconsiderate, and his whole conduct so indecisive, that it afforded many opportunities to a prudent and watchful enemy.

But, notwithstanding the importance of this victory, it by no means decided the fate of Egypt : not an inch of territory was acquired ; the French still retained their position, and had an army considerably more numerous than the British in the country ; indeed, calculating the mutual losses by an inverse ratio, their strength had increased by the diminution of the previous inferior number of their enemy : yet one immediate benefit resulting, independent of the confidence it inspired in the troops, was the impression made on the inhabitants and Bedouin Arabs, thousands of whom had witnessed the battle, and such a battle as their fathers never recorded to them. The market was immediately supplied with every article, and a direct communication established with the interior ; still, however, the army was obliged to live on salt pork, as the troops did not choose, although an allowance was offered to them for their rations, to trust to the supply of fresh meat, and the commissary dare not undertake it. Its duties were very se-

vere: by night the outposts were strong, and the whole laid with their accoutrements on, always turning out at three o'clock in the morning. The day was occupied in bringing the provisions from the *depot*, dragging guns, ammunition, wood, &c.; and all this was, necessarily, done by men's labour: the camp was being regularly fortified, and batteries and lines raised wherever they could add to its strength. In digging, many curious antiquities were found, and particularly cisterns, baths, &c. one of which was so perfect as to have the pipe which conducted the water remaining, and the water-mark of its dripping perfectly discernible!

On the evening of the 23d of March sir Sidney Smith went with a flag of truce to the outposts, and demanded to be admitted to the commandant of Alexandria. Whilst the officer sent an express to his head-quarters a conversation commenced between him and the soldiers, respecting their situation and the affair of the 21st; from which it appeared that they by no means fought for Egypt because they wished to continue in the country; indeed, they pitied the English, who had now so fair a prospect of possessing it. The affair of the 21st they regretted as most fatal, and particularly to a number of principal officers; amongst those since dead of their wounds, they mentioned generals Lanusse* and Bodet; they further stated that general Menou had his horse shot under him, and that most of the officers of his staff had been wounded.

The answer having returned, that no person could be allowed to pass the outposts, sir Sidney Smith sent in his letter as from sir Ralph Abercrombie and lord Keith, proposing an evacuation of Egypt to the French, by which they might return to France without being considered prisoners of war, but that their shipping, artillery, &c. should be surrendered to the English: this letter was addressed purposely to the commander of Alexandria. The next morning general Friant returned a note, in which he expressed great surprise that such an offer, so disrespectful to the army of the east and himself, should be made, since circumstances by no means warranted the proposal, and that

* We find an honourable anecdote recorded of this officer. Being very severely wounded in the thigh, the bone of which was shattered, he was told, that, in order to save his life, he must submit to an amputation. To this operation the general refused his consent; saying, "I do not wish to survive this disgraceful day." A mortification ensued, and he died a few days after.

the French were determined to defend Egypt to the last extremity.

On the 25th March the captain pacha, with 6,000 men, arrived in the bay of Aboukir, and the next day landed, and encamped at a little distance from the beach. Near them were lying the remains of 4,000 of their countrymen, who had perished two years before. The corruption of that field of battle was still intolerable ; almost wherever a horse trod the impression of the hoof laid bare some corpse, with the clothes still on !

On the 29th sir Sidney Smith, accompanied by major Montresor, and Isaac Bey, a character well known, from his long residence in Russia, France, England, &c. and a man of superior talents, went with a flag of truce to the outposts, as on the part of the captain pacha, lord Keith, and sir Ralph Abercrombie ; being refused admittance into the town, they were, at last, obliged to send in their dispatch, to which no answer was ever received.

It was on the morning of this day that the death of sir Ralph Abercrombie was known ; he had borne painful operations with great firmness, but the ball could not be extracted. At length a mortification ensued, and he died on the evening of the 28th, having always expressed the greatest solicitude for the army, and irritating his mind, from the first moment, with the anxiety to resume his command. His loss was a severe one ; his death universally mourned : he was beloved by the troops for his kindness and attention to their welfare, and his courage was their pride and example. His age, combined with his services, exertions, and manners, rendered him an object of enthusiastic admiration. General, afterwards lord Hutchinson, paid a just and affectionate tribute to his memory, in the following well known words :

“ Were it permitted for a soldier to regret any one who has fallen in the service of his country, I might be excused for lamenting him more than any other person : but it is some consolation to those who tenderly loved him, that, as his life was honourable, so was his death glorious. His memory will be recorded in the annals of his country—will be sacred to every British soldier, and embalmed in the recollection of a grateful posterity.”

Sir Ralph Abercrombie had endeared himself to his fami-

ly by the habitual practice of every relative and social duty ; by the amiableness of his manners, the tenderness of his affections, the simplicity and integrity of his life. No man ever felt more deeply the awful responsibility attached to a commander in chief. " These victories," replied sir Ralph, (being congratulated on his successes,) " make me melancholy." He considered war as a solemn, though a trying duty ; and regarded victory of no value, but as it tended to promote the interests and the repose of society. Such a character deserves at once praise and admiration, and must be reckoned among the highest benefactors of mankind.

General Hutchinson, on whom the command now devolved, found himself succeeding to a situation, unexpectedly, under circumstances the most unfavourable. The previous victories must have inspired hopes in England and Europe, nay, almost positive confidence, of the success of the expedition, if common prudence directed the operations ; and Egypt, after the battle of the 21st, he was aware, would be considered as conquered. His trophies could probably, therefore, be but few, whilst his responsibility was great ; he saw, however, that the campaign was but commenced, assuredly, with favourable auspices, but no decided superiority. A greater army than his own was still to be combated, strong places to be taken, climate to be endured, supplies to be obtained from the interior, communications to be established with the vizier and the Indian army ; and, independently of these formidable difficulties, the plague, and other diseases, menaced to reduce his force. Lord Keith also assured him, that, after October, he could no longer remain on the coast with the shipping, on account of the weather and the state of the vessels.

To abandon the enterprise was infamy, to complete it with glory a precarious prospect ! an attack on Alexandria was too desperate an enterprise to be undertaken ; but to remain inert was impossible ; the fleet wanted water, the troops fresh provisions ; he therefore, determined to make an effort, which, if successful, might procure the possession of Rosetta and command of the Nile. The 58th and 40th flank companies, with a detachment of Homspech's hussars, consisting of thirty men, and eight pieces of cannon, were spared for this service. With this corps 4,000 Turks, who had arrived with the captain pacha, and now put under the

orders of the caia bey, were destined to act. Colonel Spencer commanded the whole. On the 2d of April the corps marched for Aboukir, where it was to cross the ferry and join the Turks.

On the 10th of April Rosetta was captured. Colonel Spencer, having passed his army across the two ferries, had proceeded on the 7th to Edko, keeping his right upon the lake, and only detaching patrols along the beach of the sea, by which he also avoided the melancholy sight of the number of dead bodies, thrown overboard from the hospital ships, and which the sea had, unhappily, yielded up again. He arrived at Edko without opposition. The Turks, however, had given him much uneasiness: as they kept, by way of amusement, firing constantly into the air with ball. On the morning of the 8th the army arrived before Rosetta, after a painful march across the desert: where, frequently, in the hollows of the ground, the air was so hot as to excite the sensation of the vertigo, and where, from the mirage it seemed a lake of water, reflecting even the shade of the date-trees: an extraordinary deception, which no reasoning or strength of sight could remove. The French, to the number of 800 men, were drawn up in front of Aboumandour, a very high sand-hill above the Nile, to the southward of Rosetta, on which was an old tower; but, as colonel Spencer approached, the greater part passed across the Nile in dgerms, ready for the purpose, and the remainder retreated towards El Hamed; that body which had crossed the river drew up on the bank, and remained so posted until two guns were brought up and fired at them, which killed and wounded several men. Colonel Spencer then detached the queen's and 500 arnauts to occupy Rosetta and blockade Fort St. Julien, while he proceeded with the main body to El Hamed.

The position of El Hamed was remarkably strong, the right being on the lake, the left on the Nile, and the highest banks of a canal in Egypt running along the front: but it must be understood, that these canals are not like those of Europe, as they have no water in them except at high Nile, the level of the country forming their bed, and the banks being raised above it. They may properly be called canals of irrigation.

When the army first arrived on the banks of the Nile, a

dggerm was seen sailing up it from Rosetta, in which was the commandant ; a great number of shots were fired at him, but he persevered and escaped.

The easy conquest of Rosetta was an object of astonishment. It had been considered so important an acquisition, that its capture was deemed very precarious : indeed colonel Spencer's instructions were, to abandon the enterprise if he met with serious resistance. The French, had they suspected this movement, might have passed a corps round lake Maadie, and, leaving a post at Beda, advanced on the isthmus between that lake and lake Edko, thus intercepting his retreat, while an attack in front would have placed him in a desperate situation ; and, had there been an enterprising partisan employed, he might have made much advantage afterwards of that movement, and considerably distressed the English by destroying the ferry, bridge, &c. &c. ; and this occasion offered until the 21st of May, when Beda was occupied by 450 men of the Coldstream, and the 3d guards, 20 dragoons, with four pieces of cannon.

This negligence, however, was only one of the many oversights committed by the French during this campaign. It should seem as if the errors of Menou were infectious, and spread themselves with fatal rapidity, through every corner of the camp. Perhaps, indeed, an easier and a more natural solution of these blunders may be discovered : the army began to be heartily tired of their situation ; they regarded themselves as abandoned to their destiny, and longed to return to their native country. No longer under the guidance, no longer held in awe by the stern severity of Buonaparte, they relaxed from their discipline, and lost their ardour for glory : the impulse had died away by the desertion of Buonaparte and the murder of Kleber ; and, anxious only to quit an inhospitable climate, they half favoured their own defeats by the unskilfulness which they voluntarily adopted.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE facility with which Rosetta had been taken, as well as St. Julien, inspired well founded hopes, and general Hutchinson determined to press on his operations against

the interior. On the 23d of April, therefore, he sent the quarter-master general and his staff, and on the 26th himself arrived at Rosetta, having, on his way, paid a visit to the captain pacha in Aboukir bay, who had returned on board of his ship.

Towards the latter end of April a messenger arrived from Murad bey, with an answer to a letter sent from the English commander in chief, accompanied by the grand signior's firman and the captain pacha's guarantee of protection. Our readers will recollect, that, previously to the arrival of the English, the grand vizier had endeavoured to open a negotiation for peace with Menou, and had chosen Murad bey as the mediator ; but the haughty and self-sufficient conduct of Menou was the means of rendering the advances of the vizier nugatory. Murad bey, by this messenger, assured the English general, that, if his army advanced towards Cairo, he would join him : but observed, he dare not make a decisive motion previously ; and in a letter to sir Sidney Smith, he says, " How can I be attached to the French ? have they not deprived me of my sovereignty, my honour, my revenues ? but it is on the English faith alone I can depend. The Turks have no right to my confidence." Alluding to the hostility of the Turks against him, and the unnatural inveteracy of people, who professed the same faith ; he beautifully expresses himself, " Melancholy is it to reflect, that the arrow which has stuck in the eagle's wing was an arrow made of an eagle's feather !"

Shortly after this period advice was received of his death. He had been seized with the plague whilst gradually descending the Nile, to join the English, three days before his decease, and expired on the 22d of April. On his death-bed he charged Osman Bey Tambourgi, (so named from having originally been a drummer among the Mamelukes,) whom he had recommended as his successor, to attach himself to the English. The beys and Mamelukes regretted the death of this extraordinary man sincerely ; and, when they buried him at Saouague, near Tahta, they paid the compliment to his valour, of breaking his sabre into his grave, as an expression that no one else was worthy of wearing his arms.

" Murad Bey," says general Reynier, " was no ordinary man ; he possessed in an eminent degree the virtues and the

weaknesses which attach to that point of civilization the Mamelukes are arrived at. Abandoned to all the impetuosity of his passions, in his first emotions he was terrible ; but his vehemence frequently subsided in an extreme weakness. Gifted by nature with that ascendancy of character which marks man for empire, he possessed the instinct to command without any knowledge of the duties of a governor. Prodigal and rapacious, he lavished on all his friends, and then oppressed the people to supply his own wants. To these general traits must be added an extraordinary strength of body, a courage not to be daunted, and a confidence superior to misfortune, which never, for a moment, deserted him in all the numerous crisis of his distracted life."

The loss of such a man may be considered as an essential drawback upon the prosperous circumstances of our arms. It is hardly possible to calculate the degree of advantage that might have been drawn from an ally of his character, acquainted with the natural resources of the country, and endeared to its inhabitants by so many estimable qualities.

The main army now continued moving on. On the 7th of May the *Turkish cavalry* arrived, as a reinforcement of the British forces. These troops were not real Turks, but Syrians, almost naked, many without arms, beyond belief miserably mounted, totally undisciplined even to savage wildness ! Such a reinforcement (and their force did not exceed 600 men) offered no great advantage, yet was not to be rejected. The captain pacha was vexed, particularly at the defalcation of their numbers.

On the 9th of May the English army reached Rahmanieh, which, after a severe action, surrendered to them, and the enemy retreated to Cairo. The greater part of their flotilla was prevented from escaping by the batteries on the right of the Nile, and became the property of the victors. The loss of Rahmanieh, it is said, deeply affected the French. By this event Alexandria was insulated, and the end for which Rahmanieh had been occupied by Menou, the command of the Delta, and the landing of the troops under Gantheaume, appeared no longer attainable. The loss of the British in this affair amounted to four officers wounded, six men killed, and nineteen wounded ; the Turks suffered more considerably. The French lost about one hundred men.

About this period, general Menou, who remained at Alexandria, became more and more jealous of the other officers. The loss of Rahmanieh raised great murmurs through the army against him, who, having steadily persisted in the impossibility of the event, had concerted no measures to provide for its consequences. These murmurs reached his ear, together with expressions of the esteem and confidence with which the troops distinguished general Reynier. The report, at that time in circulation, that this general was appointed to the command of the army, and general Menou restricted to the civil administration of Egypt, augmented his jealousy, which was the more violent, because he could not disguise from himself that general Reynier had foretold the successive disasters of the army, and pointed out the means of preventing them. He thenceforth resolved to banish him ; he was conveyed, forcibly, on board a vessel, ready to sail for Europe, and where he also found general Dumas ; Daure, principal commissary ; Boyer, adjutant-commandant, and several other officers. General Reynier wrote an expostulatory letter to Menou, full of bitterness and invective.

The battle of Rahmanieh was an event of more ultimate than immediate importance : much yet remained to be done. The French had retired, and, though repulsed, were not weakened : their concentrated force from Cairo might always advance ; they had lost a position, yet still possessed the capital, and principal fortress of the country.

Every thing, therefore, now depended upon the movements of general Hutchinson ; whether he should move onwards towards Cairo, or fall back upon Alexandria. There were many reasons for and against either measure : the popular opinion was for the latter, for the fatigues of advancing further into the country were dreaded. Besides, it was argued, that, should Cairo be conquered, still Egypt would not be ours, while the French had possession of Alexandria : while, on the contrary, if the latter were taken, Cairo, must, eventually, capitulate.

These various objections distracted, for some time, the mind of the commander in chief ; he was fully aware of the truth of the last argument, but still he was unable to conceive he could successfully attack Alexandria while general Belliard's army remained in force ; he dreaded also

the difficulties which were to be surmounted by the troops under his command : but, at last, he decided that the movement was indispensable. " My natural habits and present state of health," said he, " would persuade me not to attempt a march where such exertion must be necessary, and in which, probably, I shall fall a sacrifice to the climate ; but my duty to my king and country, and the gallant men who have been employed in this expedition, determine me to undertake it. If I succeed, great will be my satisfaction to find that my capacity did not betray their interests ; if I fail, the consciousness of integrity, and the most ardent devotion for their glory and welfare will support me in retirement." In this decision general Hutchinson remained fixed, though considerable opposition was made to it.

The intrenched camp of Rahmānieh was given up to the Turks, who left a garrison of about 300 men in the fort.

About this time a convoy of dgerms, coming from Cairo by lake Menouf, ignorant of the retreat of general Legrange from Rahmanieh, fell into the possession of the English, with 150 prisoners, and several guns, intended for the defence of Alexandria. The convoy was extremely valuable, consisting of clothing, wine, spirits, stores, and nearly five thousand pounds in money.

When the Mamelukes took possession of Cairo, after the battle of Heliopolis, they rendered a most important service to the vizier, by recalling the French from the pursuit of his flying forces and employing them in the reduction of that city : his army being thus preserved from absolute dispersion was permitted to recruit at Jaffa : but here it immovably remained ; the vizier having resolved not to move a step to the assistance of the English, till, in fact, they had conquered for themselves : it was not, therefore, until informed of the brilliant success of his allies, and aided by their artillery and officers, that he was induced to march, at the head of 23,000 men, with whom he reached Belbeis on the 7th of May, and immediately threw up intrenchments. Numbers, who only waited to ascertain whether this army would pass the desert unmolested, convinced of their security, now flocked to his standard. The French forces at Cairo, under general Belliard, being, about this time, strengthened by the junction of general Legrange from Rahmanieh, it was resolved to defeat the vizier before the arri-

val of the Anglo-Turkish army, commanded by general Hutchinson : nearly 5,000 infantry and 900 cavalry, chiefly from Rahmanieh, were selected for the execution of this design. Had the French been permitted to make an attack on such a rabble as the Turkish army, which they would have done, and probably in the night, their defeat would have been certain; major Holloway, major Hope, of the artillery, and other English officers who were present, therefore persuaded the vizier to anticipate an attack by making one.

On the 15th of May his highness the grand vizier received intelligence that the enemy were in full march from Cairo on the road towards Belbeis. The vizier, after it was dark, ordered Tahir Bashaw, with 3,000 cavalry and three light field-pieces, to advance to meet them, and, if a favourable opportunity should offer during the obscurity of the night, to attack ; but, if not, to impede their march as much as possible. About ten o'clock at night they met, three leagues from the Ottoman camp, when each halted, and lay on their arms during the night, and until eight o'clock in the morning, at which time Tahir Bashaw commenced an attack ; he was, soon after, reinforced by 1,500 cavalry. It was now found that the enemy had come forward with about 14 pieces of artillery, 600 cavalry, and 4,000 infantry ; the vizier, therefore, ordered Mahomed Bashaw to move forward with 5,000 men, cavalry and Albanian infantry, and nine light field pieces : (the French had eight-pounders in the field.) The other English officers, besides major Holloway and major Hope, were captain Lacy, of the royal engineers, and captain Leake, of the royal artillery : captain Lacey accompanied Mahomed Bashaw, and captain Leake Tahir Bashaw. Each of these officers received their orders from major Holloway, remaining still near the person of the vizier ; who after sending forward his advanced guard, came up himself and took the command. Major Hope was with the artillery.

The enemy moved into a wood of date-trees, where they were attacked by the Turkish cavalry and infantry with great spirit for three hours ; when, retiring from the wood, they took a position on the left, their left flanked by a wood and forming a hollow square on the right. The Albanese infantry advanced to the edge of the wood, and in this situation galled them much ; and, on the Turks threatening

their right the French changed their position and attempted to gain the heights, in which they were prevented by a rapid movement of Turkish cavalry, who gained the summit : in this manœuvre they were annoyed by two guns, which were advanced on the occasion. At this time the French commenced a decided retreat, and were driven beyond El Hanka, a distance of not less than seven miles from the place of the first operations. The grand vizier, who commanded his troops with great gallantry and prompt decision, then gave orders for them not to pursue them any farther.

The affair lasted seven hours ; but, although there was much firing, still the loss, as stated, was inconsiderable : yet it is not by the number of killed and wounded that the importance of this battle is to be estimated ; but it must be considered as discomfiting the projects of the French, rendering the surprising efforts of their march a useless exertion, elevating the spirits of the Turks, and inspiring confidence among their friends in Cairo and the country.

While this passed on the side of Cairo, fort Lesbeh surrendered to a detachment from the vizier's army. These successes reanimated the drooping energy of the vizier, and taught him to confide in the spirit and genius of his allies ; (for it must be remembered that the disposition of the Turkish army, the order of march, and all their movements, were arranged by major Holloway :) he, and all the British officers present, very much distinguished themselves by their exertions, and the vizier was sensible of their merits. General Reynier, with his usual perversion, augments the vizier's army with five hundred English artillery : thus clothing twenty-nine men with five hundred buckram jackets !

The consequences of this victory were eminently favourable to the allied powers : those who consider how easily men are depressed and how easily exalted, and how much depends upon the state of internal conviction with which armies go to battle, will fully appreciate the effect of the victory at El Hanka upon the minds of the Turks ; a race of men once renowned in arms, and, even now, mindful of their high character, fatalists too, and, therefore, as easily sunk and elevated as children.

The inhabitants of Cairo saw the French return baffled and dejected ; they beheld the Ottomans pursuing, and their

crescent triumphant as far as Heliopolis, where the grand vizier, who had distinguished himself in the action, passed the night in the full pride of victory. The lucky termination of this battle relieved general Hutchinson from his anxiety and secured a freedom of operations.

On the 23d, general Hutchinson being desirous to hold a conference with the grand vizier, that the future plan of operations might be arranged, left the camp, with the captain pacha, and went in his barge by the canal of Menouf. This day was memorable for a sirocco wind, which darkened with a burning mist the atmosphere: the thermometer was at 120 in the shade; the ground was heated like the floor of a furnace! every thing that was metallic, such as arms, buttons, knives, &c. became burning hot; the poultry exposed to the air, and several horses and camels, died; respiration was difficult, and the lungs were parched with the fiery particles! Had the heat continued forty-eight hours the effects would have been dreadful; but, happily, as night drew on, the wind cooled, and, at last, changed to the north-west.

General Hutchinson continued in his resolution of advancing towards Cairo: he was now joined by his Turkish allies, and they continued their painful and adventurous progress with various delays and obstructions; it was not till the 20th of June that he arrived at Embabeh, before Giza.

The general had intended to change the front of the army and take up an oblique position, so as to approach with his right nearer the point of attack; when, on the 22d of June, early in the morning, a French officer, from Giza, with a flag of truce, was brought in to the general, by captain Taylor. He came from general Belliard, to require that an English officer might be sent to a conference he proposed. The general consented, and he sent to know of what rank the officer should be. The answer was returned, That, as the matter to be discussed was of the highest importance, it was requested that a general officer might be sent: general Hope was, therefore, named, who met a French colonel of engineers (Pouissard) near Giza, and staid with him a long time.

The next morning, by agreement, general Moran and general Hope met under the trees near Giza: three tents

were pitched for them and their attendants : a guard of honour, composed of grenadiers and cavalry, attended each.

General Belliard had, at first, proposed that each party should have an armed escort : but general Hutchinson answered, That, between the troops of civilized nations, such a precaution could not be necessary : a reply which handsomely maintained the dignity of his allies.

The French obtained a singularly mild capitulation, more like what would be granted to one's own countrymen in a state of rebellion, where humanity, policy, and every consideration would dictate such, than to a foreign and a rancorous enemy. It has been asserted, indeed, that the terms were as hard as we had any right to impose ; more especially, when the strength of the garrison of Cairo is considered, for the French commissary, (agreeably to the capitulation,) demanded no less than seventeen thousand daily rations ! if we add to this the sickly state of the army, the advance of the season when the Nile overflows, and other considerations, they will be found materially to justify the leniency.

On the 6th of July, the grand vizier reviewed his army, and the same day general Kleber's coffin was removed from fort Ibrahim Bey, where it had been deposited ; the French army having resolved to carry with them his remains to France. The vizier arrived at the instant when the French commenced firing their minute guns, which the English artillery were directed to answer. " The French lines," says sir R. Wilson, " presented a gloomy scene of mourning ; for, at the obsequies of general Kleber, real sorrow again agitated every heart. It was not the muffled beat, the trappings of ceremony, the imposing stillness of parade, but the silent manliness of unaffected grief, which diffused the mournful solemnity. Every soldier, as the coffin passed, felt that therein their benefactor's—a father's bones, reposed ; a leader, whose intrepidity had been their admiration and example ; whose talents had often secured them the victory, and who, in the hour of distress, never abandoned them ! the man, who, when Buonaparte deserted them, cheered their desponding spirits by his paternal exhortations, and whose exertions were constantly devoted to their welfare. They dwelt on his purity, they reflected on his fate, and Kleber became deified and adored. Had Buonaparte wit-

nessed this scene, he would have himself regretted, perhaps, the exclamation which he made, with indignant pride, when Kleber, wishing to heal up some differences which had existed between them, began his letter with the fraternal term of "*Camarade*"—" *Camarade ! Camarade ! Qu'est ce qu'il y a de commun entre Kleber et moi ?*"

"Fortunate it was for Buonaparte that the hand of an assassin deprived Kleber of life ; his word was passed, his resolution fixed, to take ample vengeance : nor did personal resentment alone urge him : the public wrong he had also pledged himself to redress, neither would the aggrandizement of his rival have humiliated him by servile obsequiousness and dereliction from his oath."

During the night of the 10th, the French evacuated Cairo, and sent notice of their intention to colonel Stuart. An arrangement had been previously made, that when Cairo was taken possession of, which was not expected before the morning of the 11th, a detachment of the captain pacha's body guard should enter also ; but as this early evacuation was not known till very late at night, the quartermaster-general who happened to be on the eastern side, on the emergency of the moment, directed the 39th to march directly, and occupy the citadel. When the captain pacha knew this, he was extremely angry, and complained of being deceived, and he could scarcely be pacified by the representation of the circumstances.

On the 14th of July, general Hutchinson presented the officers of each English regiment with a puncheon of Sicilian wine, which proved a most agreeable donation to them, for many had not tasted a drop of any kind since their leaving Alexandria ; never, indeed, had an army before been so abstemious, and, consequently, so well conducted.

On the 15th, at day break, the French totally evacuated Giza, and, with the allied army, began their march for Rosetta. General Hutchinson remained at Cairo ; not only being ill, but wishing to settle the arrangements for the government of Egypt, and reinstate the Mamelukes, as he was, by treaty, bound to effect.

This march, was, perhaps, the most extraordinary ever made : the variety of nations which composed the armies, with all the relative circumstances, rendered it peculiarly interesting.

On the 16th of July lieutenant Budgin arrived from general Baird, with the intelligence of his having reached Cunei with a division of his army. General Baird had sailed from India in the latter end of the month of December, with the view of co-operating with the army from Europe destined to invade Egypt; and a division of troops from the cape were ordered to join him in the Red sea. His object was to land at Suez, and act according to those circumstances he should become acquainted with there; since, at such a distance, no positive operations could have been prescribed: the hope was, however, always entertained that he would arrive in time to assist the European army, even in debarkation, by dividing the French force. Unfortunately, the monsoon had commenced before his entrance into the Red sea, in the month of April, and it was found impossible to gain his destination: but learning, at Jedda, the success of the English on the 21st of March, (which intelligence had been transmitted to him by admiral Blanket,) he determined to land at Cossir, and brave the difficulties of the desert, in the hopes of affording a considerable support to general Hutchinson and contributing to the final conquest of the country.

On the 8th of June he arrived at Cossir, and found colonel Murray, the adjutant-general, who had preceded him, and reached that port with a very small advanced guard, on the 14th of May; but the greater part of the army was still missing, and none of the troops from the cape had arrived: anxious, however, to promote the general service, he employed himself in preparing the means for enabling his army to pass the desert, in which he was assisted by the vizier's firmans; and, in a short time, he found himself provided with 5,000 camels! Having made the necessary preparations, he set out for Cunei, (or Kinneh,) where he arrived on the 30th of June, and immediately arranged the march of the remaining divisions; facilitating their passage by establishing posts at the different wells in the desert and digging others. It was not till the latter end of July that his army had assembled, and, even then, several detachments were missing: the collected force, including the troops from the cape, amounted to 5,226 rank and file.

General Hutchinson found himself compelled to order general Baird to proceed to Cairo; although he much wish-

ed to have allowed of his re-embarkation with his army, as there were other very important objects for that body of troops to be employed upon : but there was every reason to suppose that the French would attempt to throw strong succours into Egypt, and he did not, therefore, think himself justified in risking the departure of such a considerable force.

Meanwhile the French army, who had evacuated Cairo, continued on their march towards Rosetta, and, when they arrived at Derout, the French passed the English, in order to be ready for their embarkation. The real effective state of this army was then ascertained, as the principal English officers posted themselves at a narrow pass to see them file by : they could scarcely, however, credit their own sight, when they beheld an army of above 10,000 men, with 50 pieces of artillery, and its compliment of ammunition, defile before them, independently of the guards, &c. in the dgerms ! They then fully felt the wisdom of the capitulation of Cairo, with all its leniency, when they connected this army with various local difficulties, that the approaching season would produce.

On the 29th of July general Hutchinson (who had received at Cairo the letter announcing his majesty's high approbation of his conduct, and of his being decorated with the order of the bath) arrived at Rosetta : he came in a barge provided by the vizier. The general, on quitting Cairo, conceived that every proper arrangement had been made for the government of Egypt, and he left the Mamelukes impressed with gratitude towards him. His health, being extremely bad, he was obliged to go on board lord Keith's ship, in the hopes of sea air recovering him ; and where he proposed to remain until the English army of Cairo joined general Coote before Alexandria.

General Menou had been made acquainted with the surrender of Cairo on the 7th of July : this intelligence he received with the greatest vexation, as he wished general Beliard to have held out, on three probable chances of relief. First, The landing of the succours, which general Ganthéaume was endeavouring to throw in, might have changed the aspect of affairs. It is true, the Heliopolis corvette had announced, on the 19th of May, that the French fleet had been within 30 leagues of the coast, when a convoy was

seen passing, which the French admiral mistaking for the English fleet, cut his cables and bore away, but his return might still be expected. Secondly, The negotiations for peace were known to be commenced, and a favourable issue expected to them. Thirdly, The rising of the Nile was a guarantee, that, beyond a certain period the siege could not be carried on.

The army from Cairo having joined that before Alexandria, general Hutchinson arrived on the 15th August, and determined immediately to besiege Alexandria on the eastern and western fronts, an army of sixteen thousand effective men being under his command. There had been no possibility to commence operation sooner, for all the boats had been occupied in embarking the French ; and as both the corps, to the eastward and westward, were to depend on the fleet for daily supplies, two such important objects required their whole service.

On the evening of the 16th, the boats having assembled in the inundation, immediately on the left of the position, the division of the army, in all about 4,000 men, embarked and sailed.

The instructions of the left column were, to storm the Green Hill, on the right of the French line, and on the right to occupy the Nole Hill, about a quarter of a mile in front of the French left, for the object of reconnoitring. General Doyle moved forwards ; the 30th regiment directing itself against the work on the left of the Green Hill ; the 50th to that on the right ; and the 92d had orders to remain in reserve at an intermediate point, at the base of the Nile.

Very little opposition was made, and the troops took possession of the works, which proved open batteries, the artillery of which had been previously removed.

General Moore had also advanced on the right, and occupied with the Lowestein chasseurs, the Nole Hill : the resistance he had met with was also trifling, although the French were on the *alerte* during the night, from a cannonade which was kept up from the Pharos against some English boats standing in close to the harbour.

As soon, however, as the French found their picquets attacked, fearing a general assault, they beat to arms, and immediately began a heavy fire from their works, which continued, without intermission, three hours.

At seven o'clock a body of French, to the amount of 600, unexpectedly, appeared on the right of their position, whence they advanced rapidly against the Green Hill and the post partially possessed by the 30th.

General Coote had wished to disembark between Marabou and Alexandria; but, perceiving a corps of the enemy on that part of the isthmus, he left, opposite to them, general Finch's brigade, to make a feint, while he stood on with the remainder about three miles farther, where, without any opposition, he landed.

A position was immediately taken up to cover the siege of Marabou. In the night of the 18th general Coote having, with the unremitting exertions of the officers of artillery, established two batteries with mortars, and three 24-pounders in them, against fort Marabou, directed the bombardment to commence. The celerity with which the guns had been brought up was a remarkable effort of zeal, as they had to be carried over almost inaccessible rocks, in which vast quarries were hewn out, as is supposed, for the building of the ancient Alexandria.

The breadth of the isthmus from the lake to Marabou is about half a mile; the islet of Marabou is situated at the western extremity of the harbour, and, commanding one of the channels, is separated from the continent by a reef of rocks, of a hundred and fifty yards in extent, which, except directly in the centre, is fordable.

The French had constructed a very strong regular fort on this islet, round a tower, formerly a mosque: but the length of the islet not being above three hundred yards, and its breadth one hundred and fifty, shot could sweep over the whole. About 12 o'clock on the day of the 20th, the tower of Marabou fell. As the fall of the tower might be supposed, probably, to have filled up the ditch of the fort, and, in that case, rendered an assault practicable, four companies of the 54th were ordered to be in readiness for that service: and, at the same time, general Coote wishing to spare the effusion of blood, sent colonel Duncan with a summons to the French commandant, who, at first, hesitated to capitulate; but on colonel Duncan's representing to him the certain fate which awaited his garrison, if he refused to surrender, and, particularly, as he could not regularly defend the place, he, at last, consented.

On the morning of the 23d general Hutchinson passed over to the westward, in order to examine the state of the fortifications on that side ; as he was returning in the evening to his camp the French fired a few shot at his boat, without effect. In the evening of the 24th, an aid-de-camp of general Menou brought in a letter, addressed to general Hutchinson. As this was the first communication general Menou had ever permitted by land, the supposition was universal that he wished to surrender. The letter proved to be only complimentary, for the humanity shewn to his wounded officers and soldiers, a recommendation of the garrison of Marabou to a brave and loyal army ; concluding with a request for the admission of his brother-in-law into Alexandria, and some trunks, belonging to his wife. This letter, although not containing the expected intelligence, was considered, with confidence, as a preliminary.

Various movements were made by different parts of the British army ; that under the command of general Coote was particularly active after the capture of fort Marabou. On the morning of the 26th the English batteries at the eastward side on the Green Hill opened against the right of the French position, particularly playing against the small redoubt which covered the bridge, and the right battery of the line, which exposed seven embrasures, whilst, at the same time, the English gun-boats attacked them in the flank. The French fire was soon silenced ; and, about mid-day, finding that they had withdrawn their guns, the English batteries ceased to play.

An interesting accident happened early this morning. An old man, working on the parapet of a redoubt, was struck by a cannon-ball, which took off both his legs : he fell into the arms of his own son, a corporal in the same regiment !

In the evening the first aid-de-camp of general Menou came with a letter, to demand an armistice for three days, in which time he might draw up articles of capitulation. This proposition was agreed to, and an arrangement made, that, notwithstanding hostilities should immediately cease, the date of the armistice was only to commence from the moment the French fired three unshotted guns, to be answered by three from the British, when the colours of both armies were to be lowered from the flag-staff, which ceremony was to take place at twelve o'clock the next day.

An officer was immediately dispatched to general Coote, who arrived in time to prevent his making a lodgment on the hill above Pompey's Pillar, a post of considerable importance.

On the 27th colonel Montresor arrived from the Indian army, with the intelligence that general Baird would reach Rosetta in a day or two. This army was destined to arrive too late throughout the whole of the Egyptian war. How it happened that so large a body of men, thus put in motion at a considerable expense, should only dance in the shadow of the enterprise, it were worth while to inquire, for certainly, somewhere, there must have been neglect and mismanagement.

On the 29th general Menou's aid-de-camp came in from the enemy ; but, instead of bringing articles of capitulation, he proposed a continuation of the armistice for thirty-six hours. General Hutchinson, much incensed at this paltry prevarication, wrote back, that he should direct hostilities to re-commence at twelve at night, and orders to this effect were sent to general Coote. At nine o'clock, however, the aid-de-camp returned, with an assurance that proposals should be sent by two o'clock the next day, which offer was accepted, and an officer dispatched to the westward with counter-orders. An aid-de-camp and a *chef-de-brigade*, the next day, at one o'clock, arrived at headquarters, bearing the articles of capitulation, many of which were refused, yet the intention to surrender was unequivocally confirmed : indeed, no doubt could remain, after captain Marley, on the evening of the day before, had been conducted into the French lines with Madame Menou's baggage, which he delivered to general Rampon.

At eleven at night, the aid-de-camp returned with the articles agreed to as corrected by general Hutchinson. The next day general Hope went into Alexandria to sign the capitulation : general Menou received him with every mark of attention, and invited him to dinner. The repast was only *horse-flesh* !

On the morning of September 2d lord Keith came on shore, to ratify the terms ; and a capitulation was concluded, which embraced every desirable object, without unnecessarily degrading the conquered. General Menou was certainly entitled to every consideration which a brave,

but unfortunate officer has a right to expect from a generous enemy : and general Hutchinson knew well how to appreciate a conduct which had been so honourable, and to accede every indulgence not incompatible with the interests of his country and credit of the army. Policy obtained from him the terms of Cairo, and the noblest of motives induced his consent to these. In both, however, in our opinion, general Hutchinson displayed a very small share of diplomatic skill ; of him, indeed, it might be said, he knew how to win by the sword and to lose by the pen.

On the 3d of September the quarter-master-general went into the French lines, to be shewn the mines and the different forts to be occupied, and at eleven o'clock the grenadiers of the army, in three columns, with drums beating, colours flying, and a proportion of field-pieces, marched to take possession of their position.

The French had been under arms every night since the siege began ; nor could relief to the severity of the service be expected or solicited, under the circumstances which pressed : no one, however indolent, could have wished, in such a desperate situation, to leave the post of danger.

General Menou's force did not justify any longer that inactive resistance which he adopted : he had under him brave men, who, notwithstanding they were abandoned to themselves, remained faithful to their duty ; who had seen their comrades pass gaily by them, returning to that native country for which they had all so languished, and who yet betrayed no symptom of disaffection or intolerance at their situation. Worn out by fatigue, exposed daily to an unserviceable destruction, they still executed the commands and relied on the judgment of their leader ; it became, therefore, his sacred duty to preserve them when his country could no longer be benefited by their perseverance ; and, under these circumstances, his extravagant boast and his other conduct were so much the more empty and ridiculous.

There is no foundation, however, for saying that there was only a few days water in Alexandria, as general Reynier asserts : for, with a very little supply, the water in the tanks lasted the English till the month of February following.

Alexandria was defended by 312 pieces of cannon, chiefly brass, and 77 were found in the ships of war, many of

which had been put on board latterly. In the powder magazines were left 14,102 filled gun-cartridges, and 195,218 lbs. of powder in barrels.

Nothing, as we before observed, can be uninteresting relative to the mutual strength of the two armies, when we consider what have been the constant perversions of Reynier upon this subject, and with what disgraceful assiduity he has laboured to persuade Europe, that the French magnanimously resisted torrents of armed troops, and, in fact, like sir John Falstaff, had whole countless armies in buckram jackets, to oppose ! It is thus that he would rob us of the fair laurels we have gained, and tear from the hand of courage and discipline its well-earned honours, to place them on the sterile brow of gigantic disproportion. Did general Reynier feel with the true dignity of a soldier, he would disdain to rob even his enemy of their just honours.

The return of the garrison of Alexandria, as given in by general Menou, exclusive of women and children, was,

Military,	10,528
Civil,	685

11,213

The city of Alexandria is very small; the population never exceeded 6,900 souls, and since the arrival of the French, it is considerably diminished. The houses being all white, the general appearance of the city is more lively than of any other in Egypt.

On September the 5th sir Sidney Smith and colonel Abercrombie embarked on board the *Carminé* with the dispatches for England : the selection of these officers was an honourable trait of feeling and consideration.

The successful termination of the war in Egypt diffused general joy throughout England, and every one was emulous to pay some mark of respect and admiration to the brave men who had so nobly maintained the honour of the British name throughout such an arduous campaign. The thanks of both houses of parliament were voted ; a cenotaph to the memory of sir Ralph Abercrombie ; a peerage to his widow, and a pension of 2,000*l. per annum* : general Hutchinson was created a peer, with a pension of 2,000*l.* a year : admiral Keith was also created a British peer ; general Coote invested with the order of the Bath : and each

regiment which had been employed upon the service was allowed to carry in their colours the emblem of a Sphinx, and to have the word "Egypt!" inscribed. The grand signior, also, to perpetuate the services rendered to the Ottoman empire, established an order of knighthood, which he named, "The ORDER of the CRESCENT;" in the first class were lord Hutchinson, lord Keith, admiral Bickerton, major-general Coote, major-general Baird, and lord Elgin. In the second the general officers, and naval officers of equal rank.

The gallant, the lamented, sir Ralph Abercrombie's body was carried, in the *Flora* frigate, to Malta, and buried in the north-east bastion of the fortifications of La Valette. A black marble tomb-stone, laid horizontally, marks the place of interment. A Latin inscription is engraved upon it, written by the librarian of the order of Malta, and of which, for the sake of the general reader, we shall give a translation; conscious, as we are, that every reader will peruse with delight the last record of a brave soldier, and a virtuous man.

TO THE MEMORY

Of RALPH ABERCROMBIE, a native of Scotland,
knight of the order of the Bath;

a man

highly distinguished for his probity,
magnanimity, consummate courage,
and military talents

in the several wars of America and Holland:

whom GEORGE THE THIRD, king of
Great Britain,

with the universal approbation of his subjects,
appointed commander in chief

of the British army in the Mediterranean sea:
in which capacity,

completing an expedition to Egypt,

He,

although every where opposed by the bravest
of the troops of France,

in one forcible attack, gained and kept

possession of the whole Egyptian coast;

and, in his progress, defeated and suppressed
their endeavours to oppose him:

until, the British and French armies
engaging in a sanguinary conflict near
Alexandria,
on the 21st day of March, in the year 1801,
whilst fighting in the foremost ranks,
and in the very bosom of victory,
He received a mortal wound
in his thigh ;
of which, to the keen regret of all who knew him,
He expired,
on the 28th day of the same month, in the 68th
year of his age.

He was a commander
eminently conspicuous for his skill
in the art of war ;
for his prudence in projecting,
and bravery in executing his measures ;
and for his unsullied honour in all that
concerned the glory of his country and king.
His sovereign, and Great Britain, were alike
grieved at his loss.

HENRY PIGOT,
appointed, by royal authority,
commander in chief of the garrison
of British troops stationed
in this island, has piously ordered
this to be raised over the ashes
of that excellent and well-deserving
officer ; conveyed hither, in public
funeral, on the 29th day of
April, in the same year.

CHAPTER XXV.

HAVING brought the Egyptian expedition to a close,
let us now return to Europe, and narrate, with a faithful
pen, the events that took place there during our struggles in
the east ; events which will be found more intimately con-

ned with our hero, because occurring under his immediate eye and instigated by his direct influence.

Having made peace with Austria he was now at liberty to bend his undivided attention towards England; for though he, probably, did not himself entertain any solid hopes of effecting any thing important against this country, yet the appearance of it, he knew, might assist him two ways; it would serve to keep the army employed, and to furnish matter for attention to the Parisians, who would thus be withdrawn from too close a consideration of his own newly acquired power; and it would also compel us to be continually on the alert, exhaust gradually our resources, and pave the way for a general pacification.

The leading features of the policy of Buonaparte towards this country, at the time we are now treating of, appear to have been, to excite a confederacy against us among all the maritime powers, and to exclude us from all the ports of Europe; then to attack Portugal, our only remaining ally, and, if possible, to subdue her; and, finally, by the continued threats of invasion, to wear out our patience and impoverish our finances.

Buonaparte was congratulated by all the constituted authorities on the peace which he had made with Austria. In his answer, he replied, "France will not reap all the blessings of peace until she shall have a peace with England; but a sort of delirium has seized on that government, which now holds nothing sacred: its conduct is unjust, not only towards the French people, but also towards all the powers of the continent; and, when governments are not just, their authority is but short lived. All the powers of the continent must force England to fall back into the track of moderation, of equity, and reason." Such was the language then held by Buonaparte towards this country, and it is remarkable what a similarity has prevailed ever since. The liberty of the seas has been long the watch-word, though an unavailing one, and, we trust, it will ever prove so. Let it never be forgotten, that the navy of England is the only bulwark upon which she can securely rely; that destroyed, her destruction, though not rapid, would be certain. Though Buonaparte be not a Scipio, yet England may prove a Carthage, if ever the contest be brought to issue upon her own shores, and our navy destroyed.

Our readers will recollect that Buonaparte, after his assumption of the consulate, made overtures of peace to this country, in a letter, addressed directly to the king, he not deigning to use the customary diplomatic forms. These overtures were rejected, principally, as it is understood, from the influence of Mr. Pitt, who, having declared that he never would make a peace with Buonaparte, now, consistently with his declaration, urged the probable insecurity of the French government, and the folly of making peace with a power that might cease to exist ere the articles could be drawn up.

Buonaparte, failing in this attempt at pacification (the sincerity of which may be justly doubted) continued, with unflinching assiduity, to represent to all maritime nations the overbearing haughtiness and insolence of this country, and he endeavoured to revive the armed neutrality of 1780; the principle of which was that free and neutral bottoms made free and neutral goods. The glaring fallacy of this opinion needs no refutation; the most obtuse mind must be aware, that such a principle once admitted, would open a door to the exercise of privileges prejudicial in an alarming degree to the interests of this country; not, indeed, to the interests of this country alone, for even those powers who were advocates for its establishment against us, might become, they knew not how soon, in a situation that would render it as injurious to themselves: this, however, they saw not, in the blindness of their rage: the attempts of the weak against the strong, indeed, are often only injurious machines, which return back upon the inventors.

It was sufficient for Buonaparte that the idea was plausible and calculated to flatter the wishes of the different maritime powers. By his ministers, and other agents, at the courts of Petersburg, Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Berlin, he insinuated how encouraging the present posture of Europe was for such a step, and how great the advantages of compelling the English to make peace on reasonable terms.

The effecting of this was not then so difficult: Russia, the most important of the northern powers, was governed by a frantic madman, the emperor Paul. He had been irritated, by various accidents, against the courts both of Vienna and London, but especially against the latter. Mutual accusations had taken place between the Russian and the

English generals after the unsuccessful and disastrous expedition, in 1799, to Holland. After the first ebullition of the emperor's rage against his own officers, his jealousy and resentment was awakened against the English ; and this was further inflamed by the failure of his schemes in the Mediterranean.

The genius of the Russian government, amidst the caprices and singularities of individual characters, may be said still to preserve the impulse and determination that was given to it by Peter I. It was his aim to have a firm footing in the Mediterranean as well as on the northern ocean and the Baltic : in pursuance of this general aim, Paul had been led, by a concurrence of circumstances, to fix his eyes and heart on Malta. It appears that he had been allowed to entertain hopes of possessing it, though no absolute promise was made to him by the other allies. A fleet with troops had sailed from the Black sea in August 1800, for the express purpose of taking possession of the place when it should surrender. No remonstrances were made when Paul ridiculously assumed the title of grand master of Malta ; and when he pretended to make captain Home Popham, a knight of that order, his right to do so was recognized in the London Gazette. When the original destination of that fleet was frustrated, by the surrender of Malta, and its occupation by the English, it remained long at anchor in the canal of Constantinople, waiting for orders how to act. The resentment of the emperor was, in the first instance, as is usual, wrecked on a weak party, presenting itself as a ready object for the gratification of his passion. He demanded from the grand seignior, the ally of England, a large sum, stipulated, he alleged, to be paid by the Turks for the maritime aid of the Russians. A sharp dispute arose on this subject : the Russian admiral refused to return to the Crimea till the money should be paid, and even threatened hostile measures against Constantinople : the porte was obliged to yield to the menaces of the enraged czar of Muscovy. Nor is it by any means unimportant, however ludicrous to mention, that Paul was highly offended by the caricatures of his person and character, published in the streets of London, and which Buonaparte took the especial care to have transmitted to Petersburg. On the irritable and irritated temper of the emperor, disgusted

with Austria, and much more with England, Buonaparte operated with consummate address and complete success.

The consequence of all this was an embassy from Russia to France, on which occasion Buonaparte, with admirable policy, took care to flatter the vanity of Paul, by paying the most extravagant attentions to his representative. The ambassador was received with the most profuse honours : his entry into Paris was announced by the firing of guns ; nothing that he asked could be refused : and the good, modest, unassuming count Kalitcheff, knew not whether he was a man or a god. Buonaparte, however, cared not ; he was a master in that perfection of political skill which consists in rendering the dominant foibles or virtues of your object subservient to your own designs. Paul could not be proof against such splendid courtesy : he was won.

Next to Russia, the power of most importance in the formation of a confederation against England was Prussia : without her concurrence the effects of any confederacy could neither be very important or very lasting, but with it every thing was to be feared. Prussia commands an extensive maritime coast, and the navigation of all the great rivers from the Rhine to the Eider, on the north of Germany : Buonaparte, therefore, spared no exertions to bring this power into the confederacy, and, for this purpose he sent his brother Louis to Berlin. Nor was it by secret intrigues only that he endeavoured to raise this armed monster against England : he avowed this intention, with the reasons on which it was formed, before the whole world, in a message to the legislative body, the tribunate, and the conservative senate, on the 13th February, and which, like his other messages and measures, was printed and published.—“ Why,” says he, “ is it that this treaty (*i. e.* the treaty of Luneville) is not a treaty of general pacification ? this was the wish of France, this was the constant object of the efforts of its government. But all its efforts have been in vain. Europe knows all that the British ministry have done to prevent the success of the negotiations at Luneville. In vain did an agent, authorized by the government, declare to them, on the 9th of October, 1800, that France was ready to enter into a separate negotiation with them : its declaration was answered only by a refusal, under a pretext that England could not abandon her ally. Since that pe-

riod, and after that ally had consented to treat without England, this government seeks for other means of postponing peace, which is so necessary to the whole world. It violates a convention consecrated by humanity, and makes war on fishermen! It advances pretensions contrary to the dignity and the rights of all nations. All the commerce of Asia and immense colonies are no longer sufficient to satisfy its ambition; it is necessary that all the seas should be subjected to the exclusive sovereignty of England. It arms against Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, because Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, have by treaties mutually guaranteed their sovereignty, their independence, and their flags. The princes of the north, unjustly attacked, have a right to rely on the assistance of France: the French government will, with them, avenge an injury common to all nations; without at any time forgetting, that it ought to contend only for the peace and happiness of the world."

Such was the language of Buonaparte upon this occasion, and it was echoed by his faithful constituted authorities with most courtly similarity: *the liberty of the seas and the repose of Europe* was the chief burden of the song in all their harangues. Nor was the press silent in the grand business of arming a confederacy against us: many publications were issued, whose object was, not only to shew that the overbearing power of this country at sea ought to be resisted, but that it might be resisted with success. Examples were adduced, to shew that maritime strength, unsupported by territorial, is nothing; and it was confidently predicted, that the fate of Alexandria, Tyre, Rhodes, Venice, Genoa, Portugal, Spain, &c. would speedily be the fate of England.

The manner in which Buonaparte signified his intention of crushing our maritime supremacy was signified to England in a very courteous manner. About the middle of January, 1801, some valuable books, magnificently bound, were presented to the royal society of London, from the national institute of France: a letter of compliment accompanied this present, signed—*Bonaparte, president of the national institute, and first consul of France*: and on the letter was a finely executed vignette, representing liberty sailing on the open ocean in a shell, with the following motto;

"Liberte de mer."

The progress of the northern confederacy became every day more marked; Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia, entered into it with avidity. Denmark had long been a pacific nation, not having been engaged in any war for upwards of eighty years, and it might, therefore, have been presumed that she would reluctantly engage in one now; yet it is remarkable that she was the first, the last, and the only power that was engaged in actual hostilities.

Many Danish ships had been brought into our ports, though it appeared, afterwards, that they contained no contraband commodities: this was not only vexatious, but attended with much loss. But the first difference, of any consequence, since the armed neutrality of 1780, on the subject of the right of visitation by sea, arose in the month of December, 1799, in the vicinity of Gibraltar, between some English frigates and a Danish frigate, named the *Hausenen*, commanded by captain Van Dockum. The English commander sent on board the *Dane*, to demand from the captain his destination. The captain then answered, that he was then going to Gibraltar. The English commander replied, that, if he was going to stop at Gibraltar, he would not visit his convoy; but that, in case he should not cast anchor there, the visit certainly would take place. Captain Van Dockum then informed the officer who had come on board, that, in such case, he would make resistance. On this the English captain made the signal to examine the convoy: the boat of the frigate (which was the *Emerald*) prepared to execute this order. Some musketry was fired down from the Danish frigate, and one of the English sailors wounded in consequence: this frigate also took possession of a boat of the English frigate the *Flora*, and did not release it till after the English captain had given captain Dockum to understand, that, if he did not surrender it immediately, he should commence hostilities. The Danish frigate then repaired, with its convoy, to the bay of Gibraltar: there some discussions took place between lord Keith, commander of the British forces in the Mediterranean, and captain Van Dockum, whom lord Keith thought proper to consider as personally responsible and guilty of the injury done to a subject of his king. He thought it impossible, he said, that the captain could be authorised to act in such a manner by the instructions of his court. To

clear up the business, the English admiral sent an officer to Van Dockum, requesting that he would shew him these instructions, and explain their nature. The Dane refused to let the admiral see his instructions, alleging that he was forbid so to do ; but he told the officer that their import was, not to permit visitation of his convoy, and that, in firing on the English boats, he only fulfilled his orders. The captain himself afterwards made like answer ; and, on his word of honour, in conversation with lord Keith and the governor of Gibraltar ; promising, at the same time, to surrender himself before a judge, and to give notice of his appearance, on which promise he was told that he might return on board : but, having entered his boat, he sent a letter to the admiral, in which he refused to give the notice required. All this was represented to the Danish ministry by Mr. Merry, the British envoy at Copenhagen, on the 10th of April, 1800, and demand made, in the name of his government, for a disavowal, apology, and reparation. This affair, without any other reparation than a disavowal, was satisfactorily adjusted.

As it evidently was not the interest of Denmark to enter into a war with Great Britain, the resistance made by captain Van Dockum, excited considerable surprise and much conjecture : but this surprise was still more excited by an engagement, which took place between a Danish frigate, the Freya, on the 25th July, 1800, at the mouth of the Channel, and no less than four English frigates, a brig, and a lugger ! Here, as before, the right of search was resisted, and the consequence was a broadside from the English frigate, which was returned by the Danish ; it was impossible, however, that she could sustain the unequal conflict, and she accordingly struck her colours. The Freya had five men killed and five wounded, and thirty shots in the hull ; the English had five men killed, and several wounded. The Danish frigate, as well as convoy, was taken to the Downs.

As it was apprehended, that, in the present disposition of the northern powers, this incident might lead to a renewal of the armed neutrality, and an extension of the war ; lord Whitworth was sent, with a special mission, to the court of Denmark, for the prevention of extremities, and for the reconciliation of differences ; and, that the representations

with which he was charged might have the greater weight, he was supported by a squadron, under the command of vice-admiral Dickson ; consisting of nine sail of the line, four bomb ships, and five gun-vessels.

This was decisive, and the court of Denmark was ill prepared to resist a mission so accompanied : it was, therefore, agreed, that the Danish frigate and convoy, carried into Deal, were to be repaired at the expense of Great Britain. The discussion respecting the right, asserted by the English, of visiting convoys, to be adjourned to a farther negotiation in London. Until this point should be decided, the Danish ships were to sail under convoys only in the Mediterranean, for the purpose of protection from the Barbary corsairs ; and they were to be liable to be searched, as heretofore.

Buonaparte, vexed and disappointed at the amicable adjustment of affairs in the north of Europe, and daily receiving news of the prosperous issue of the English arms in Egypt, felt himself, as it were, cut off from all hopes and possibility of annoying Great Britain externally : yet the same motives for action, of some sort, still prevailed in his mind ; nor was he influenced less by political rancour than by political subtilty. England, he foresaw, would be a constant impediment in his way ; it might not, indeed from its situation, it could not, operate immediately to his prejudice, by checking or subverting any act of his, or any schemes of ambition : but still it would be a thorn to him, a spider in his sight, which he could not brush away ; a constant enemy, whose motions would perpetually excite his alarms ; and a powerful one, who might annihilate his navy, and, ultimately, shake his own power. We are firmly of opinion, that Buonaparte, notwithstanding his sanguine character, and the gigantic plans which his mind has devised, and his prowess executed, never seriously believed it possible to effect any thing upon the English shores : he never entertained so bold a hope as that of conquering them on land. Affecting to consider them merely as a commercial nation, who drew all its strength, its very life-blood, from trade, it was always his favourite project to destroy their commerce, and shut them up in their island ; but that must now be abandoned, for the present, and other schemes re-

sorted to ; among which the most prominent was that of invasion.

He made great preparations : a grand camp was formed at Amiens ; it was occupied by detachments from what was called *The chosen army*, commanded by general Murat, and was strengthened, from time to time, by additional numbers : a camp was also formed between Bruges and Ostend ; another between Gravelines and Dunkirk ; and a fourth at Boulogne : this last was the principal point whence the invading army were to proceed. These four camps, by the month of July 1801, were occupied by a great number of troops, among whom were many emigrant Irishmen. The building of ships, and other preparations for an immense naval armament, was carried on with great activity all along the Dutch and Flemish coasts as well as those of France. Rumours were industriously spread, and credited, that numerous armies were to be transported, in French and Spanish ships, over to England. Certain it is, that, after the peace of Luneville, Buonaparte had a very great disposable force : all was in motion from the mouth of the Scheldt to the mouth of the Garonne. The islands of Jersey and Gurnsey were threatened with immediate invasion. The combined fleets of France and Spain, that lay in the harbour of Brest, amounted, as early as January, 1801, to 52 sail of the line !

Buonaparte, in order to combine his preparations at land with his preparations by sea, and to restore and improve the navy, had lately divided the whole extent of the sea-coasts of France into six maritime prefectures ; namely, those of Brest, Toulon, L'Orient, Rochfort, Havre, and Antwerp. Not only ships, but gun-boats and flat-bottomed boats, were equipped, under the direction of the prefects, along the whole line of the coasts. Redoubts were thrown up, and furnaces prepared for the heating of balls, in places supposed to be most liable to attacks by the English. Telegraphs were erected, for communication among the different prefectures, with one another, and with Paris. Proclamations were issued, from time to time, by the prefects, calculated to animate the courage and hopes of the French seamen.

The British government beheld these preparations with prudent anxiety : they hardly feared the issue, yet they were

too wise to despise the attempt. The whole nation, individually and collectively speaking, was anxious to meet the French, and to give a practical illustration of the received maxim, that "one Englishman can beat two Frenchmen : " for, notwithstanding the splendid successes of the French on the continent during the war, and the undoubted claims they possess to military heroism and courage ; yet we are firmly convinced that two-thirds of the British army cherished that opinion of their own superiority : it was a useful one, which would produce solid advantages in the day of trial.

England, at this time, assumed a warlike appearance : field days and reviews were to be seen in every town, and almost in every parish ; volunteers daily underwent the severest discipline ; the mechanic and the tradesman forsook his tools and his shop and marched along, with the musket on his shoulder : they were ready to proceed to any place where the enemy might land, or to take upon themselves garrison duty, if it should be thought necessary to withdraw the regulars. Towards the end of July, when the preparations of the enemy were so forward as to menace an actual attempt, strong picquet guards were mounted all along the coast, and orders issued for all the volunteers of the southern districts to be alert and in a state of preparation to march on a moment's warning. Four complete parks of artillery, forming a hollow square, were so arranged, at Woolwich, as to be able to set off at a moment's warning, to any part of the country. The horses were harnessed in the centre, and the drivers and engineers slept on the spot. In the rear of the guns (which were, in general, 9 and 12 pounders) were the *chevaux-de-frize* and ammunition waggons.

Such were, in part, the land arrangements which were made ; various orders were likewise issued, as to the marching of the troops, in case of necessity ; their mode of cantonment, quartering, &c. and the manner of their being provisioned.

At sea, along the whole channel, from the Nore to Falmouth, a system of night signals was employed, to announce any approach of danger : frigates and gun-boats were stationed at proper places near the British shore. The return of the Baltic fleet, while it added to the amount of our disposable naval force, inspired, if possible, into our seamen

and marines still higher sentiments of courage, honour, and glory. Such was the immensity of our navy, that our fleets, squadrons, and cruisers, blockaded the enemy in their principal ports and watched their flotillas of gun-boats, (while they endeavoured, with various success, to skulk close to the shore, from one place to another,) and annoyed and quashed their trade in every quarter of the world. A chain of English vessels of war stretched along the whole extent of the French coast on the channel, generally about two or three miles from land.

So great, at this time, was the immense strength of the navy of England, that she had a fleet in the Indian ocean ; a fleet in the Red sea ; a fleet at the mouth of the Nile ; two fleets in or near the Mediterranean ; a small fleet in the Baltic ; a fleet in the West Indies ; detached cruisers and convoy-ships in every direction ; and a channel fleet : while a flotilla of vessels, of different descriptions, under the command of lord Nelson (who was invested with the supreme command of maritime affairs from the Land's End to Yarmouth) guarded the British shores, and struck terror into those of France !

About this time two of our ships were captured by the French, who made great boasting on the occasion. One, the *Swiftsure*, commanded by captain Hallowell, was taken, by the *whole French fleet* ! under Gantheaume, in the Mediterranean : the other was captured by the French squadron under admiral Linois, on the Spanish coast, near Cadiz. This squadron, consisting of two ships, carrying each eighty guns ; one carrying seventy-four ; and a frigate, besides cutters, on the 4th July, lay at anchor off Algesiras : rear-admiral sir James Saumarez, informed of this, went in quest of them, with a superior fleet. Having stood through the straits, from the Mediterranean, and opened Cabareta Point, he found that the ships lay at a considerable distance from the batteries on shore : encouraged by this circumstance, and by a leading wind, he resolved to attack them.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 5th the English squadron, with springs on their cables, advanced to the French ships, in order to come to the closest action possible. Captain Hood, in the *Venerable*, led the squadron with his accustomed gallantry, but, from the failing of the wind, was obliged to cast anchor. Captain Stirling an-

chored opposite the inner ship of the enemy, and brought the Pompey to action in the most spirited manner. Captain Darby, of the Spencer, and captain Ferris, of the Hannibal, from light winds, were prevented, for a considerable time, from coming into action. At length the Hannibal getting a breeze, captain Ferris had the most favourable prospect of getting along side of one of the enemy's ships ; when she unfortunately, ran aground. Sir James Saumarez, with his own ship, the Cæsar, and the Audacious, made every possible effort to run between the Hannibal and the French batteries and squadron, to cover, and to enable her to extricate herself from the difficulty into which she had fallen : but the wind did not favour this bold manœuvre ; and being at that critical time only three cables length from one of the enemy's batteries, he was under the necessity of making sail, leaving the Hannibal, which, of course, struck her flag.

The admiral, in his dispatches, gave the best account he could of this unfortunate business. The French and Spaniards exulted highly over our defeat : it was announced, by an official note, to all the theatres of Paris, that six English ships of the line had been either taken or beaten back into the harbour of Gibraltar, by three French ships ! The same news was circulated by the telegraphs throughout the whole of the French empire : not a word of the batteries on shore ; and which, in fact, infinitely counterbalanced the inferiority of the French fleet. The 5th July was called the Naval Marengo : the destruction of the modern Carthage was predicted in an epigram, greatly admired at Paris, because it had lost its Hannibal. From the result of the engagement at Algeiras, the French nation, at large, inferred, without the smallest doubt, that their navy would soon be enabled, with proper attention, to combat the empire of the seas : such and so extensive were the hopes and ambition excited by this victory in miniature !

Shortly after this, intelligence was received of a second action fought by the squadron under the command of sir James Saumarez, in which he obtained the victory. The three French line of battle ships, disabled in the action of the 5th July, were, on the 8th, reinforced by a squadron of five Spanish line of battle ships, under the command of don Juan de Moreno (the same Moreno who commanded the

Spanish gun-boats in 1782, in the attack on Gibraltar;) there was also a French seventy-four, wearing a broad pendant, besides three frigates, and an incredible number of gun-boats and other vessels. They got under sail on the morning of the 12th, together with the English ship the Hannibal, which they had succeeded in moving off the shoal on which she had struck. Sir James Saumarez almost despaired of getting a sufficient force in readiness to oppose such numbers; but, through the greatest exertions of the officers and men, the Cæsar, which was the admiral's ship, was in readiness to warp out of the mole of Gibraltar also on the morning of the 12th: and, immediately after, the whole squadron got under weigh, except the Pompey, which ship had not time to get in her masts. The English admiral determined, if possible, to obstruct the passage of so powerful a force, as that of the enemy, to Cadiz. Late in the evening he observed the combined squadron to have cleared Cabareta Point, and at eight he bore up to stand after them. His majesty's ship the Superb opened her fire close to the enemy's ships; and, on the Cæsar's coming up, and preparing to engage a three-decker, that had hauled her wind, she was perceived to have taken fire, and the flames having communicated to a ship to the leeward of her, both were soon in a blaze. As there was no possibility of offering the least assistance to the enemy in so distressing a situation, the Cæsar passed on close with the ship engaged by the Superb; but, before the Cæsar could come up, that ship, the St. Antonio, of seventy-four guns, and 730 men, was completely silenced, and hauled down her colours. The Venerable and Spencer having, at this instant, come up, the English admiral bore after the enemy, who were carrying a press of sail and standing out of the Straits, but lost sight of them during the night. It blew excessively hard till day-light; and, in the morning, the only ships in company were the Venerable and Thames, ahead of the Cæsar, and one of the French ships, at some distance from them, standing towards the shoals of Conil, besides the Spencer, astern, coming up. All our ships immediately made sail with a fresh breeze; but, as they approached, the wind suddenly failed, and the Venerable alone was able to bring the French ship to action, which captain Hood did in the most gallant manner,

and had nearly silenced her ; when his mainmast, which had been before wounded, was unfortunately shot away ; and thus the enemy's ship was enabled to get off, without any possibility of following her.

The following is the account given by captain Keates of the *Superb*, who, in consequence of the admiral's directions to make sail up to and engage the sternmost of the enemy's ships, found himself abreast of a Spanish three decked ship, on which he opened his fire at not more than three cables length ; which produced good effect, not only in that ship but in other two, which lay nearly in a line abreast of her ; all which ships soon began firing on each other, and, at times, on the *Superb* : the three decker was the *Royal Charles*, carrying 112 guns. In about a quarter of an hour he perceived the ship he was engaging, and which had lost her foretopmast, to be on fire : on this, he instantly ceased to molest her, and proceeded on to the ship next at hand, the *St. Antonio* above mentioned, under French colours, and manned nearly in equal proportions with French and Spanish seamen, and which, after some action, the chief being wounded, struck her colours. From the very few survivors of the ships that caught fire and blew up, and who, in an open boat, reached the *Superb* at the time she was taking possession of the *St. Antonio*, captain Keates learned, that, in the confusion of the action, the *St. Hermenegildo*, carrying also 112 guns, mistaking, in a dark night, the *Royal Charles* for an enemy, ran on board her, and shared her melancholy fate. The other Spanish ships were the *St. Ferdinando*, of 94 guns ; the *Argonaut*, of 80 ; and the *Wanton*, of 12 guns.

The escape of the French ship the *Formidable* from the *Venerable*, was, as usual, magnified by the French into a great and wonderful naval victory, and indicative of the reviving glory of the French marine !

Thus baffled at all points ; the northern negotiation broken, and the combined fleets defeated ; Buonaparte now began to bestir himself in a manner less likely to be fruitless : he resolved to forsake, for awhile, the faithless element of the seas, on which he was forced to acknowledge we rode triumphant, and to attack us by a more circuitous route ; a route also where he promised himself more success. Portugal, our old and faithful ally, now attracted the

fury of his ambition ; and, whether the advantages of subjugating that state would be great or little, it would serve, at least, as a rallying point, and a tocsin to sound the alarm of war.

Portugal was considered and spoken of by the French as a mere colony in the hands of the English. The Portuguese were disposed to continue in habits of close intercourse and friendship with us, and they were proud of our protection : if the English government would have supplied them with an army as well as with a navy, the general voice of the court and nation would have cheerfully embarked the fortune and fate of Portugal with that of Britain. Our ministers appeared for some time to have embraced the resolution of defending Portugal ; and, so late as October, 1801, Spain offered itself as a mediator between France and Portugal : but to this the British cabinet would not consent ; they rather chose to attempt to rouse the Portuguese to war, with the promise of military succours, provided that a person recommended by Great Britain should be employed to fill the office of commander in chief of the forces in Portugal, instead of the actual commander in chief, who, from age, was not capable of acting with a sufficient degree of judgment for his country. The court of Lisbon did not take this advice : they agreed however, that, if this country would furnish an army of 25,000 men, the British ministry might then appoint a commander : to this our ministry would not accede ; and the force destined for Portugal was, therefore, carried to Egypt.

Spain was not allowed to remain neuter : it seemed to be then, as it is now, the policy of Buonaparte to suffer no neutral states, but to enblaze the whole world in war. Spain declared war against Portugal on the 3d of March, 1801 ; it was not, however, till the 26th of April that a proclamation of war, or, rather, of defence, was issued by the Portuguese government. The proclamation was spirited and manly. "The nation," said they, "which could resist the Romans, conquer Asia, make great discoveries by sea, shake off a foreign sceptre, and recover and maintain her independence ; should not that nation, at present, recal to mind the honourable annals of her history ! People of Portugal ! we still preserve the courage and sentiments transmitted by our ancestors. Justice is on our side ; and

the true God, favourable to our cause, will punish, by our arms, the injustice of our adversaries."

Vigorous measures were now adopted by the Portuguese government; yet it was easy to see, that neither she nor Spain entered willingly into the war: it was necessary, however, to be prepared for the worst, and therefore, preparations were made for actual hostilities. New levies were made in all places, and among all ranks, the ecclesiastics and men above sixty alone excepted: every other, capable of "shewing a beard," had arms put into their hands. A force of regulars and irregulars was raised and set in motion, but the numbers have not been able to be ascertained with any exactness. The prince of Brazil attended the army in person. To assist in carrying on the war, government borrowed the plate of the churches, which was deposited, as a pledge, in aid of the public faith for sums advanced, in the hands of individuals; and an augmentation was made, of one third part, to the daily pay of the soldiers. Every thing, in short, wore the appearance of a necessary defence against a serious and alarming invasion.

The attack on Portugal was to be made the by French and Spaniards in two different directions: the former were to march towards Oporto and Lisbon, while the latter were to penetrate into Alentejo, the largest, the most fertile, and the best cultivated province of Portugal, extending in breadth eighty miles, and in length two hundred.

The Spanish army, from thirty to forty thousand, under the command of the prince of peace, from different points, entered Alentejo on the 20th of May. All was rapid progress on one part and precipitate retreat on the other. By the 6th of June the Spaniards had reduced Elvas, Campomajor, Arrouches, Fior-de-Posa, Estrecoz, and, in a word, all the strong places and all the magazines of Alentejo. On this day preliminaries of peace were signed between Portugal and Spain, at Badajos; the principal conditions of which were, that the town, fortress, and province of Olivenza, were ceded to Spain, and the ports of Portugal shut against the English. This pacification was ratified on June 16th, but not proclaimed by Portugal till the 20th of July. It was deemed prudent not to publish the treaty of Badajos till the Portuguese possessions in South America should be saved from invasion, on the part of England, by a rein-

forcement of French troops. In the Portuguese proclamation not a word of France was mentioned.

The situation of Portugal, shut up between the prevailing power and influence of the French by land, and that of the English by sea, was extremely hard and perilous. Mr. Frere, the English envoy at Lisbon, sent a strong note to the Portuguese minister, remonstrating against the conclusion of peace till his court should be consulted.

At this haughty conduct the Portuguese cabinet was greatly hurt; as Portugal had, in fact, to complain of the conduct of Great Britain. Immediately after Mr. Frere had presented this note, he wrote another to Mr. Arbuthnot, the English consul, desiring him to intimate to the British merchants, to hold themselves in readiness to depart at a moment's notice: but the English were invited to remain, with assurance of protection, by the prince regent of Portugal.

By a convention entered into between France and Spain, at Madrid, peace was not to be concluded between these parties on the one hand, and Portugal on the other, unless, among other conditions, certain places in Portugal should be given up, to be occupied by French troops until the establishment of a general peace in Europe. When, therefore, Buonaparte was invited to accede to the preliminaries of the peace at Badajos, he refused his concurrence. He represented that it was contrary to the convention of Madrid, and to the general policy and interest of the allies; and that the immediate consequence of this treaty to his Catholic majesty, if he should ratify it separately, would be the loss of Trinidad; which must be ceded, as a condition of peace with the British nation, if the occupation, by French troops, of some quarter, or some posts in Portugal, should not enable the French government to offer to the cabinet of London an option which it might prefer even to the possession of the Spanish island. But the court of Lisbon having ratified the treaty of Badajos separately, the French government proceeded in its determination of invading Portugal. A French army, thirty thousand strong, under general Leclerc, provided with a numerous train of artillery, having traversed the Pyrennees, entered Portugal, from Salamanca, on the 28th of June, invested the town and

fortress of Almeida, and from that position menaced both Oporto and Lisbon.

In order to counteract the conquests of France, a squadron, with troops, was sent out by the British government, for taking into our protection and possession the island of Madeira. It arrived on the 23d of July at the place of its destination: early on the 24th a negotiation was begun, and, before it was dark, half the force was landed and encamped; on the 25th the remainder was landed; and colonel Clinton, who commanded the expedition, having made proper representations, and satisfied the governor of the friendly intentions of the English towards the Portuguese, was put in possession of the two forts which command the bay of Funchal, the capital of the island.

Edicts were again issued by the Portuguse government for military conscriptions: large bounties were offered to seamen, for manning six ships of the line, to join the English fleet at Cadiz. The subsidy from England, of three hundred thousand pounds, gave new vigour to the exertions of Portugal: succours in men, likewise, were solicited from England, and fondly, though vainly, expected. The men were at work in the arsenals of Lisbon and Oporto day and night: the greatest activity prevailed in every branch of the war department. Portugal was seriously prepared to defend herself.

The Portuguese army, however, did not amount to more than 25,000 men, notwithstanding all the requisitions and bounties: among these were three regiments of loyal French emigrants, and some corps of English cavalry: its headquarters were fixed in the strong post of Abrantes, on the Tagus, in Estremadura. The commander in chief was the duke of Alfoens.

The duke, in the beginning of July, quitted Abrantes, and left a strong corps there, under the command of general Forbes: he proceeded with the main army, to occupy such positions as might enable him to check the farther irruptions of the French. But, in the mean time, while the weak, and but ill provided, Portuguese army were thus employed, a negotiation was set on foot for peace, which was finally concluded at Madrid, on the 29th of September.

CHAPTER XXVI.

IN November, 1801, Buonaparte presented the following view of the republic :—

“ It is with a pleasing satisfaction that the government offers to the nation the picture of the state of France, during the year that has passed over. Every thing at home and abroad has assumed a new appearance, and whatever way we cast our eyes, a long perspective of hope and happiness opens upon us.

“ In the west and in the south, remnants of banditti infested the roads and desolated the fields invisible to the armed force which pursued them, or protected against it by the very terror with which they inspired their victims. Even in the bosoms of the tribunals, if they happened to be brought before them, their audacity froze with fear the accusers, the witnesses, the juries and the judges. These monsters rushed unpunished from the hands of justice to the commission of new crimes.

“ Against this pest, so destructive of all society, it was necessary to make use of other arms than the slow and gradual forms with which public justice pursues solitary criminals, who conceal themselves in silence and in darkness.

“ Special tribunals were created, whose powers, more rapid and more sure, might overtake and strike them. The great criminals have been seized. The witnesses have ceased to be mute. The judges have obeyed their consciences, and society has been avenged. Those who have escaped from justice, are since flying from one hiding place to another; and the republic every day vomits from its bosom this last scum of the waves with which it has been so long agitated.

“ Still innocence has had nothing to fear. The security of the citizens has not been alarmed by the measures destined for the punishment of their oppressors; and the unfavourable presages with which it was attempted to intimidate liberty, have been realized only against guilt.

“ From the month of May in the 9th year, to the 23d September in the 10th year, seven hundred and twenty-four judgments have been pronounced by the special tri-

bunals ; nineteen only have been rejected by the tribunal of appeal, on the ground of incompetence. They cannot, therefore, be reproached with excess of power, nor with any violation of ordinary justice.

“ The government, from the first day of its institution proclaimed liberty of conscience. This solemn act calmed minds which had been frightened by imprudent rigours. The cessation of religious dissension has been since announced, and in fact, measures have been concerted with the sovereign pontiff of the catholic church, to reunite in the same sentiments those who profess a common belief. At the same time a magistrate, charged with every thing that concerns public worship, has attended to the rights of every sect ; he has collected, in conferences with the Lutheran and Calvinistic ministers, the information necessary to prepare regulations, which will secure to all the liberty which belongs to them, and the publicity which the interest of social order gives authority to grant them.

“ The support of all modes of worship will be provided for by equal means ; nothing will be left to the arbitrary disposal of their ministers, and the public treasure will not feel any increase in the burden of the charge.

“ If some citizens have been alarmed by empty rumours, let them quiet themselves ; the government has done every thing to reconcile the minds of the citizens ; but it has done nothing that could wound their principles, or the independence of their opinions.

“ The continental peace set at rest whatever inquietude, whatever vain fears still remained : already blessed with the happiness of which they had so long been in expectation, the citizens reposed on the bosom of the constitution, and attached their whole destiny to it.

“ Enlightened and faithful ministers have seconded well this disposition of the public mind ; every exertion of authority exercised by them has met nothing but zeal, love, and gratitude.

“ Hence the government has acquired that security which makes it its strength ; it has no more doubt of the opinion of the public than its own intentions, and has dared to appeal to it without dreading its reply. A prince, issuing from the blood which reigned over France, has traversed our departments, has sojourned in the capital, has received

from the government all the honours due to his crown, and from the citizens all the respect that one people owes to another in the person who is called to exercise its government, without a single suspicion to alter the calm of administration, or a single rumour to disturb the tranquillity of the public mind. The countenance of a free, and the affection of a hospitable people, have been seen throughout : foreigners, and the enemies of the country, have perceived that the republic was in the hearts of the French, and that it had already acquired there all the maturity of ages.

“ The return of our warriors into the French territory has been a succession of fetes and of triumphs. These conquerors, so terrible in battle, have been as friends and brothers among us ; blessed in the public happiness, enjoying, without haughtiness the gratitude that they deserve, and, by the most severe discipline, proving themselves worthy of the victories which they had obtained.

“ In the war that remained yet to be carried on, events have been chequered with success and reverses. Reduced to the necessity of struggling against the marine of England, with an inferior force, our navy has shown itself with courage in the Mediterranean, when that sea was covered with the fleets of the enemy. On the ocean it has recalled some remembrance of its ancient splendour : by a glorious resistance it has astonished England, collected on her coast to be witness of her own defeat ; and if peace had not been restored, there was reason to hope that it would avenge its past misfortunes, as well as the faults that had produced them.

“ In Egypt, the soldiers of the army of the east have yielded ; but they have yielded rather to circumstances, than to the force of Turkey and of England, and certainly they would have conquered, if they had fought united. At length they return to their country, and they return with the glory which is due to four years of courage and of labour. They leave in Egypt an immortal memory, which will, perhaps, one day revive there the arts and institutions of society. History at least will not pass over in silence all that the French have done to introduce into that country the civilization and improvements of Europe. It will relate by what efforts they conquered it, with what wisdom and what discipline they so long preserved it, and, perhaps, it

will deplore their loss of it as a new calamity to mankind.

“ Twenty-eight thousand Frenchmen entered Egypt for the purpose of conquering it ; more have been sent there at different periods since, but others have returned to nearly the same number. Twenty-three thousand re-enter France, after the evacuation, without including the foreigners who have followed their fortunes. So that four campaigns, a number of battles, and the effects of diseases, have not altogether carried off one fifth of the army of the east.

“ After the continental war, every reduction in the army that circumstances would permit, has been carried into effect by the government.

“ Unconditional discharges are granted ; they are granted without preference, without favour, and according to an order irrevocably fixed. Those who have first taken arms in obedience to the laws of the requisition, obtained them first.

“ In order to fill up the vacancy which those discharges will leave in the army, it will be necessary to call upon the conscripts of the ninth and tenth years ; and, in the course of the present session, a project of a law will be proposed to the legislative body, to place them at the disposal of the government : but the government will only call upon the number strictly necessary for maintaining the complete peace establishment of the army.

“ We will enjoy the peace, but the war will leave us a burden, which will, for a long time, weigh heavy on our finances, to pay off expenses, which could neither be foreseen nor calculated, to recompense the services of our defenders, and to reanimate the works of our arsenals and our ports, to restore the French marine, to create anew all that the war has destroyed, all that time has consumed ; in fine, to carry all our establishments to the point which the greatness and the security of the republic require ; all this can be done without an increase of revenue. The revenues will increase of themselves with the peace. The government will manage them with the most strict economy : but, if the natural increase of the revenues ; if the most strict economy should not be sufficient, the nation will judge the wants, and the government will propose the resources which circumstances shall render necessary.

“ During the whole course of the ninth year, scarcely

were a few imperfect communications maintained between the mother country and the colonies.

“Guadaloupe has preserved some remnant of culture and prosperity ; but the sovereignty of the republic has received more than one outrage. In the eighth year, a single agent commanded there ; he was banished by a faction. Three agents succeeded him, two of them banished the third, and replaced him with a man of their own choice ; another dies, and the two that remain invest themselves solely with the power that should be exercised by three. Under this mutilated and illegal agency, anarchy and despotism reigned by turns. The colonists and the allies, accuse and charge it with error and crimes. The government tried to organize a new administration. A captain-general, a prefect, a commissary of justice, subordinate among themselves, but succeeding each other as occasion may require, present a singular power, possessing a sort of check, but no rivalry that could impede its action or paralyze its strength. This administration exists, and it will soon be known if it justifies the hopes that have been conceived of it.

“From the moment of his arrival, the captain-general had to combat the spirit of faction. He thought it his duty to send to France thirteen individuals, contrivers of disturbance and promoters of banishments.

“The government conceived, that such men would be dangerous in France, and ordered that they should be sent to any of the colonies that they may choose, Guadaloupe excepted.

“At St. Domingo, some irregular acts have given alarm for its allegiance. The government has not chosen to see, under equivocal appearances, any thing but that ignorance which confounds names and things, and usurps, when it thinks it is only obeying ; but an army and a fleet, which are preparing to set out from the ports of Europe, will soon have dissipated all these clouds, and St. Domingo will return entirely under the laws of the republic.

“At St. Domingo and at Guadaloupe, there are no longer any slaves ; all are free, and shall remain free. Prudence and time will restore order in them, and re-establish cultivation and industry.

“At Martinique different principles will prevail : Martinique has kept up slavery, and slavery shall still be kept

up there. Humanity has, already, suffered too much to attempt a new revolution there.

“Guiane has prospered under an active and vigorous governor; it will prosper still more under the empire of peace, and by the addition of a new territory, which calls for cultivation, and promises wealth.

“The isles of France and Reunion have remained faithful to the mother country, in the midst of factions, and under an administration feeble and unsettled, such as chance made it, and which has received from the government neither her impulse nor her assistance. These colonies, so important, are confirmed; they no longer fear that the mother country, by giving liberty to the blacks, will establish the slavery of the whites.

“In our foreign relations, the government will not fear to develop their principles and their maxims. Fidelity to our allies, respect for their independence, frankness and loyalty towards our enemies; such has been the policy of government.

“Batavia reproached her political organization with not having been conceived for her.

“But, for some years, that organization governed Batavia. The principle of the government is, that nothing is more fatal to the happiness of a people than the instability of their institutions; and, when the Batavian directory endeavoured to ascertain their opinion respecting alterations, they constantly reminded them of this principle.

“But, at length, the Batavian people wished to alter their organization, and they have adopted a new constitution. Government have acknowledged that constitution; and it was their duty to acknowledge it, because it was the will of an independent people.

“Twenty-five thousand men were to remain in Batavia, according to the terms of the treaty of the Hague, until the general peace. The Batavians desired this force to be reduced; and, in virtue of a recent convention, they have been reduced to 10,000 men.

“Helvetia has afforded, during the year 9, the spectacle of a people torn by parties, each of those parties invoking the power, and, sometimes the arms of France.

“Our troops have received orders to return to our territories: 4,000 men alone still remain in Helvetia, by the

wish of all the local authorities, who have claimed their remaining among them.

"Often has Helvetia submitted to the first consul's plans for organization ; often has she asked his advice ; he has always recalled her to the recollection of her independence : "Remember only," he has sometimes said, "the courage and virtues of your fathers ; have an organization simple as their manners. Think of those different religions, and those different languages, which have their limits marked out ; think of those vallies, of those mountains, that separate you, of so many recollections attached to their natural boundaries ; and let there remain of all that an impression in your organization. Above all, as an example to the people of Europe, preserve liberty and equality to that nation, which first taught them to be free and independent."

"These were but counsels, and they were coolly heard. Helvetia remains without a pilot in the midst of storms. The minister of the republic has been nothing more than a conciliator amidst the divided parties : and the general of our troops refused to sanction the support of his force.

"The Cisalpine and Liguria, have at length decreed their organization. Both fear, in the movements of the first appointments the revival of rivalry and hatred. They have appeared to desire, that the first consul should take these appointments upon himself.

"He will endeavour to reconcile this wish of two republics so dear to France, with the more sacred functions which his office imposes upon him.

"Lucca has expiated in the agonies of a provisional regime, the errors that deserved the indignation of the French people. She is now employed in giving herself a definitive organization.

"The king of Tuscany, tranquil upon his throne, has been acknowledged by great powers, and will soon be by all.

"Four thousand French are guarding Leghorn for him, and will evacuate it when he shall have organized a national army.

"Piedmont forms our 27th military division, and under a milder regime, forgets the miseries of a long anarchy.

"The holy father, sovereign of Rome, possesses his states in their integrity. Pesaro, Fano, Castel St. Leone, which

had been occupied by Cisalpine troops, have been restored to him.

“ Fifteen hundred French troops are still in the citadel of Ancona, and in order to ensure the communication with the army of the south.

“ After the peace of Luneville, France might have fallen with her whole weight upon the kingdom of Naples ; have punished the sovereign for having first broken the treaties, and have made him repent the affront the French had received in the very port of Naples ; but the government thought themselves revenged as soon as they had the power of being revenged ; they felt nothing more than the desire and the necessity of peace ; to give it, they demanded only the port of Otranto, necessary to their designs in the east, as Malta had been occupied by the British.

“ Paul the First loved France ; he wished for the peace of Europe ; he wished, above all, for the freedom of the seas. His great soul was moved by the pacific sentiments which the first consul had manifested ; it was afterwards moved by our successes and our victories ; and hence the first ties that attached him to the republic.

“ Eight thousand Russians had been made prisoners in fighting with the allies ; but the administration that then directed England, had refused to exchange them for French prisoners. The government was indignant at this refusal ; they resolved to restore those brave warriors, abandoned by their allies, to their country ; they restored them in a manner worthy the republic, of themselves, and of their sovereign. Hence closer ties, and more intimate approximation.

“ On a sudden, Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and Prussia united ; a coalition was formed to guarantee the freedom of the seas : Hanover was occupied by the Prussian troops ; great and vast operations were preparing, but Paul died suddenly.

“ Bavaria hastened to revive the ties that united her to France. That ally so important to us, has sustained great losses on the left bank of the Rhine ; the interest and the desire of France, are, that Bavaria shall obtain a just and full indemnity.

“ Great discussions have taken place at Ratisbon, upon the execution of the treaty of Luneville : but those discus-

sions do not immediately concern France. The peace of Luneville, concluded with the empire, and ratified by the diet, has irrevocably fixed on that side all the interests of the republic. If the republic still take part in the discussions of Ratisbon, it is only as a guarantee of the stipulations contained in the seventh article of the treaty of Luneville, and for the purpose of maintaining a just equilibrium in Germany.

“Peace has been signed with Russia ; and nothing will hereafter disturb the relation of two great people, who, with so many reasons for loving, have none for fearing each other ; and whom nature has placed at the two extremities of Europe, to be the counterpoise of the north and the south.

“The Porte restored to her real interests, and her inclinations for France, has again found her most faithful and ancient ally.

“With the United States of America all difficulties have been removed.

“Finally, the preliminaries of peace with England have been ratified.

“Peace with England, must have been the produce of long negotiations, maintained by a system of war, which, though slow in its preparation, was infallible in its result.

“Already the greater part of her allies had abandoned her. Hanover, the sole possession of her sovereign upon the continent, remained in the power of Prussia ; the Porte, menaced by our important positions on the Adriatic, had entered upon a private negotiation.

“Portugal remained to her ; having been so long under the influence of the exclusive commerce of the English ; Portugal, was, in fact no more than a province of Great Britain. It was there that Spain was to find a compensation for the cession of Trinidad. Her army advances ; a division of the troops of the republic encamp upon the frontier of Portugal, to support her operations ; but, after the first hostilities, and some light skirmishes, the Spanish minister ratifies, separately, the treaty of Badajos. From that time, the loss of Trinidad to Spain was to be predicted ; from that time, in fact, England considered it as a possession acquired to her, and removed out of the negotiation every thing that could suppose the restitution of it possible.

“Before the ratification of the particular treaty of France

with Portugal, the government made known to the cabinet of Madrid, that determination of England.

“ England refused, with the same inflexibility, the restoration of Ceylon. But the Batavian republic will find, in the numerous possessions that are restored to her, the re-establishment of her commerce and her power.

“ France has supported the interests of her allies with as much strength as her own : she has done it to the extent of sacrificing greater advantages than she could have obtained for herself ; but she was forced to stop at the point in which all negotiation became impossible. Her exhausted allies afforded her no more resources for the continuance of war, and the objects, the restitution of which was refused them by England, did not balance to them the chances of a new campaign, and all the calamities with which it might overwhelm them.

“ Thus, in all parts of the world, the republic has only friends or allies, and her commerce and her industry are returning to their accustomed channels.

“ In the whole course of the negotiations the present administration of England have shown a frank desire to put an end to the miseries of war : the English people have embraced peace with enthusiasm ; the hatred of rivalship is extinguished ; the emulation of great actions and useful enterprises will only remain.

“ The government have made it their ambition to replace France in her natural relations with all nations ; they will make it their glory to maintain their work, and to perpetuate a peace, which shall constitute their happiness as the happiness of humanity.

(Signed)

“ BONAPARTE, first consul.

“ H. B. MARET, secretary of state.”

From this view of the conduct of Buonaparte it might seem, that he was born not only for the good of France but of mankind. He was careful to encourage virtue, science, and all good arts : in his own deportment he was exemplary ; and for what concerned France in relation to foreign countries, he professed an emulation of “ great actions and useful enterprises, and was determined to perpetuate a peace which should constitute the happiness of the French as well as that of humanity.” This, indeed, would have been true glory : and there were not a few who entertained

sanguine hopes that Buonaparte would have exhibited as illustrious an example of moderation and justice, as he had done of skill, valour, and success in war. How justly these expectations were formed will be seen in the sequel.

During the interval of peace, that now succeeded, let us attend our countrymen to Paris, and view, for a moment, Buonaparte, and his attentions to the city in which he presides. Anecdotes of a man, who has changed the destiny of the world, must be interesting; and it will form a contrast to the turbulent scenes of bloodshed and war, in which we have hitherto viewed him.

That the military government, as it is now established in France, was projected and intended by Buonaparte, in the earliest part of his career, may be presumed, from the following anecdote.

When Buonaparte had expelled the directory, who resided in the palace of the Luxembourg, he was asked where he would take up his residence: after a moment's pause, he replied, "At the palace of the *Thuilleries*; it is a good *military post*!"

A parade was held* in each decade; and, as this was a shew of which he made a part, the people flocked to see it. In private his name is seldom mentioned; there seems little inclination to praise him or to blame: but that he has the suspicions of a man who was considered as an usurper, or who considers himself as such, is evident.

Fouche was the protector of the republicans, and, while defending their cause, the chief consul, one day, answered him, with some asperity, "The republicans do not love me!" "True!" replied Fouche: "they say you are the high-priest of superstition; however they remain quiet. But how do the emigrants, the royalists, and the priests, whom you protect, act?" Fouche then (taking various papers out of his pocket, which contained proofs of the evil intentions of the parties he had named) added: "Look here! and here! and here! These papers will afford you sufficient information."

Immediately, at least soon after this conversation, Fouche addressed a paper to the prefect of Brussels, and, I believe, to other prefects; which appeared in the journals, and might

* We speak of the period 1801-2, during the time that our countrymen visited Paris. Many of the following anecdotes are derived from Holcroft's travels.

be called, a philippic against the priests : it accused them of turbulence, intolerance, and practices unworthy of the morality of the gospel ; and required, that such conduct should be reprov'd, and, in future, prevented. This paper was no less offensive to one party than flattering to the hopes of the other. The *concordat* was then first in contemplation, and the republicans would not suffer themselves to believe that the country was again to be taxed for the purposes of a state religion : Buonaparte was of a different opinion ; and it is asserted, that Fouché was reprimanded with marks of considerable dissatisfaction, and silence was imposed upon him. The viceroy must not govern the king.

The Italians will never pardon France for having deprived their country of its noblest works of art : this is the only sacrilege of which, in general, they complain.

The great Canova, a man who, as a statuary, is perhaps but little inferior to the ancients, was sent for by Buonaparte, to take his bust. The artist was of no party in politics ; devoting his life to the studies in which he delighted, and on which his thoughts were intense, he paid little attention to the fate of empires : to rob Rome, however, of the statutes, which were so lately her boast, and afforded the models on which he formed his taste, was a crime he could never forgive : he openly acknowledged his dislike to the chief consul, rejected all offers made him to reside at Paris ; and, while modelling Buonaparte, frankly told him he was surprised to find himself in that place, and so employed !

This is in favour of the consul ; it appears that there are talents the dignity of which he respects.

Volney had believed in the virtue of Buonaparte, had been his friend, and admitted to his familiarity : and, being a sincere lover of freedom himself, he continued its defender. Not sufficiently aware of the effects that the exercise of power had produced, that remonstrance was become offensive, and difference of opinion an insult ; he was, one day, endeavouring to convince the chief consul of the mischief he would do to mankind by again conferring power on the priesthood, admitting the smallest of its once usurped claims, and burthening people, who were of a different creed, with a general and unjust tax.

Buonaparte replied, “ Why do you mention the people ? I do but act, in this business, according to their desire : a

large majority of the people wish for the re-establishment of the church."

Forgetful of the possibility, or, perhaps, not suspecting it, that the truth, which instantly occurred to his mind, should so deeply wound the pride of a man whose supremacy was so recent, Volney answered, "Were you to act according to the will of the majority you must immediately cede your power: the majority of the people would vote for the return of the Bourbons."

The rage of the chief consul was ungovernable: the common report is, that he instantly struck Volney and ordered him from his presence; since which he has never again entered the palace of the *Thuilleries*.

Some one, in the true spirit of French declamation, affirmed, speaking to Buonaparte, that England was far behind France in truly understanding the principles of liberty: to which he replied, "It would be well for the latter if it did but enjoy one tenth part of English freedom."

Buonaparte seldom condescends to argue; and, when he does, he considers it as insolence in any one who dares to be of a different opinion.

Music being, one day, the subject of discussion, he affirmed, "It is so simple in its principles that no man can be ignorant of it who understands the mathematics: it was the most monotonous of studies, for it had no greater variations than may be found in different angles, obtuse and acute."

Concerning the religious opinions of Buonaparte, no man, it is said, can form any decisive judgment: from his different discourse, he might at one moment be imagined an infidel, at another a deist, and the next, perhaps, a christian! To Monge, an avowed infidel, who was expressing his disbelief of eternal punishments, Buonaparte said, (after reciting the names of various great men who had believed in the christian religion, and examples of others, who, in their last moments, had changed their opinions from fear,) that he, Monge, would certainly die a true believer.

He appears to be rather a fatalist than a necessarian: for he believes, or affects to believe, in his favourable destiny.

His stature is diminutive, his complexion sallow, and his physiognomy bears those marks that denote the labours of his mind, it is care-worn; but it is also susceptible of great

variety. From his atrabilious complexion, choler might certainly be predicted, but from the sedateness of his eye, not of that sudden and impetuous kind to which he is so very subject. His voice in conversation is clear and pleasant.

On Easter Sunday, 1802, the farce of the *Concordat* was performed. Buonaparte entered the church of *Notre Dame*: he descended the aisle, surrounded by attendants, with his hat off; the sallowness of his complexion was overpowered by the emotions of thought, there was colour in his face; a gentle inclination to smile rendered his mouth pleasant; his aspect was gracious; his forehead large and open.

After this pretended solemnization of the *Concordat*, he asked one of the generals who attended him, what he thought of the ceremony: to which the general sarcastically replied, *C'etoit une vraie capucinade*—"It was a true farce."

Buonaparte appeared not to notice this sneer, and the same general was imprudent enough to venture another, a few days afterwards, on the same subject: Buonaparte regarded him with one of those frowns of terror, which, it is said, he can so effectually put on: and the general fell into disgrace.

The military are the only men who can take the least liberty with him. It is said that Moreau was invited to be present at *Notre Dame*, to assist at the consecration of the colours, and to dine with Buonaparte: to which he answered: "Of your three invitations, general! I shall only accept one; I will dine with you; but I will neither go to *Notre Dame*, nor consecrate colours."

In the plot to assassinate Buonaparte, (of which we shall shortly have to make mention,) there were persons who insinuated that Moreau had taken a part. It is said that Buonaparte sent for him, and told him, "I have heard you have joined assassins; I give no credit to any such tale: I know you to be incapable of a base action: but, such is the effervescence of mind among the military, that you will greatly oblige me if you will pass two or three days at your country house."

With this request Moreau willingly complied, but carefully returned on the third day, that no misconception, by any party, might be put on his conduct.

When general Richepanse returned to Paris, he went to

the levee of Buonaparte and there presented himself : he was taken no notice of, aside glance from the chief consul excepted, who continued his conversation with another general : Richepanse made a second attempt, and met the same reception. Highly offended, Richepanse, then, in a louder tone, said : " Citizen general ! when you are at leisure—" On which Buonaparte turned round, as if in reply to a troublesome person, and asked " What do you want, sir ? who are you ? what is your name ?" Richepanse as instantly put his hand to his sword, and answered : " My name, citizen consul ! is Richepanse ; a name, which, if forgotten by you, has the honour of being known to all Europe." Buonaparte, on this, recollected himself : and, with that affability he can so readily assume, made a gracious apology for absence of mind, treated Richepanse, afterwards, with distinction, and soon appointed him commander of Guadeloupe.

There appears to be a great antipathy in Buonaparte to whatever reminds him of the Bourbon family. A man had been proposed to him to serve as his head huntsman, and was highly praised for the knowledge that fitted him for such an employment. When he came to be examined, Buonaparte demanded of him upon what grounds he formed his superior claims as a huntsman. The man with a very imprudent pride, answered, he had many years served in the same capacity, his royal master, Louis XVI. ! Buonaparte gave the man a look and turned his back.

These various anecdotes serve to depict the man more accurately ; they unfold the minute doublings of his character, and shew, without disguise, what are his predominant qualities : in reading them, we are struck with that mixture of greatness, sublimity, weakness, and littleness, of which his mind seems to be composed. Buonaparte certainly is not so uniform a character as those great men of antiquity with whom he has been compared : in too many instances he has the spots of the sun without his brightness.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE year 1802, was considered by many as commencing in a most auspicious manner. The termination of our struggle with France; the increased glory of our army and navy; our maritime regulations and laws gloriously established, though contended for by the northern confederary; the quiet state of Ireland, according to the minister; and last, not least, the intended repeal of the income tax, a hateful impost, which was, and still is, borne with indignant feelings by the people. These were flattering circumstances, and as such, hailed with joy by the British nation. Yet, towards the middle of January, surprise and impatience began to be expressed, at the delay of the signature of the definitive treaty.

The situation of lord Cornwallis, at Amiens, was awkward in the extreme; and suspicions began to be entertained, that he was, as well as the country he represented, egregiously trifled with. In the mean time, Buonaparte, who appeared to consider the congress at Amiens, or the definitive treaty, as objects merely of secondary importance, prepared to set out for Lyons, for the ostensible purpose of conferring with a considerable number of the Cisalpine deputies; but, rather, as it appeared in the event, for an object of infinitely more importance to him, that of being invested with the sovereignty of that country, under the title of president. Talleyrand preceded him, and arrived at Lyons on the 4th of January. He employed his time, in the interval, between his arrival and that of the first consul, in conciliating, and giving several magnificent entertainments to the Cisalpine deputies.

Buonaparte left Paris on the 9th, at one o'clock in the morning, and reached Lyons in the night of the 11th. As he approached the town, he was met, and escorted, by a brilliant troop of 150 volunteers, all natives of that town, young men of fortune and fine appearance. Thus accompanied, he entered the city about ten o'clock in the evening, amidst the loudest acclamations, and the most rapturous expressions of universal joy.

During the first part of his residence at Lyons, Buonaparte employed his time in visiting the different manufacto-

ries and establishments, and in privately conferring with the principal Cisalpine deputies. At the hall where the *Consulta* met, a splendid chair was prepared for him, adorned with military trophies ; the room was decorated with various ornaments, emblematical of his victories, and inscribed with mottos, applicable to him and his fortunes.

The meetings of the *Consulta* were private, and they, at length, appointed a committee of thirty, to prepare a report of the actual state of the Cisalpine nation, and the means necessary for its future prosperity and happiness. This committee, accordingly, presented a report, such as might have been expected, declaring it absolutely necessary that Buonaparte himself should undertake the sole and exclusive management of their affairs ! The report was long, and it concluded with pressing arguments, for the first consul to take upon himself the *unwilling* charge of governing the Cisalpine nation, which, by the treaty of Luneville, was declared independent ! The report was entered into the *proces verbal* of the *Consulta*, and unanimously agreed to by the Cisalpine deputies. A special committee was appointed to wait on Buonaparte with the report, which invited him, not in his capacity of first consul of France, but personally, as general Buonaparte, to accept the government of a country as populous, fertile, and rich in resources, as any of the states of the second rank in Europe. The Cisalpine deputies, it may be presumed, found no difficulty in persuading Buonaparte to accept that which was the undisguised object of his ambition, and the now avowed motive of his journey to Lyons.

On the 26th of January, the first consul, accompanied by Talleyrand, and Chaptal, the minister of the interior, four counsellors of state, seventy prefects of departments, and a vast train of general officers, took his seat at the Cisalpine *Consulta*.

The first consul having addressed the *Consulta*, invited the vice-president to place himself by his side ; he took him by the hand and embraced him : the assembly appeared grateful for this spontaneous mark of affection. Citizen Prina then said, " If the hand that has created and defended us will guide us, no obstacle can stop us, and our confidence will be equal to that admiration with which the hero, to whom we owe our happiness, inspires us."

The first consul then broke up the sitting, and retired to his palace, amidst the loudest acclamations. The object of the visit to Lyons being thus obtained, he returned to Paris on the 30th.

As the present was the first period in which Buonaparte had found himself in profound peace, and, as the public mind was no longer to be amused by his victories, which had wholly occupied it for the two preceding years, it required no small portion of political skill to manage a nation deemed so ardent, so irritable, and so fickle, as that of the French.

It has been admitted to have been his general plan from the beginning, to unite vigour with lenity ; to amuse and gratify the French people as much as possible ; to qualify, or rather overawe liberty, privileges and pretensions, by a complicated chain of dependencies on himself, and by the command of an immense military : but, at the same time, it is but justice to observe, and to record, that his power was neither exercised by wanton caprice, nor kept unemployed in promoting the public good. In the preferments he made, merit was generally the first qualification considered. He restored the operation of laws, and, as much as he could, that of religion. He set about reforming the civil code of France in a very serious manner, founding it wholly on a moral basis, and extending its influence for the comfort and well-being of individuals, to many domestic situations, cases and relations, which the law before had never taken cognizance of. He formed a plan for educating youth in all the departments, for the encouragement of genius, and the advancement of science. He adopted various regulations in the finances, commerce, agriculture and manufactures. In his patronization of the arts, liberal and mechanical, new canals, new roads, and new bridges, made their appearance ; and knowing the French are fond of shew and parade, he distributed considerable sums for improving and embellishing the capital, and other places, among which the consular palaces were not forgotten. In increasing the splendour of the nation, he increased his own ; but at the same time, he proved himself no enemy to public feasts, spectacles, and entertainments ; his regulations, his countenance, and example, all tended to discourage and check every kind of looseness, effeminacy, or frivolity in manners,

in matters of amusement, and of taste ; he honoured marriage and domestic life ; constancy and sincerity in attachments and friendships. Respecting the theatre, he set his face severely against all loose and frivolous pieces, only encouraging such as were of a grave, moral, or dignified cast ; he, of course, shewed more countenance to tragedies than any other dramatic performances. In his own private deportment, he exhibited an example of a simple and laborious life. He pursued no extravagant amusements or propensities, but lived comfortably with his family ; and, generally speaking, was beloved by them. In fact, his life seems to have been that of labour, with very little relaxation. Nothing passed in the council of state, that did not undergo his strict examination. He heard different opinions with great patience, considering his own ardeney of mind ; but he saw every thing with his own eyes, and always exercised his own judgment. Respecting his clemency, his conduct towards malefactors, and even traitors, posterity will do him ample justice.

A fine trait in his character must certainly be admitted ; when the magistrates of Paris had passed a resolution to erect a triumphal portico in honour of him, at an expense of 600,000 livres, it was decreed, besides, “ That the first consul should be requested to accept the present deliberation as a homage of gratitude, and a pledge of the respectful attachment of the city of Paris.”

The first consul returned an answer by the following letter :

“ CITIZENS,

“ I have seen, with gratitude, the sentiments which animate the magistrates of the city of Paris. The idea of dedicating monuments to men who render themselves useful to the people, is honourable to nations. I accept the offer of the monument which you wish to erect to me ; let the place be determined, but leave to future ages the care of constructing it ; if they should ratify the good opinion which you entertain of me.

“ I salute you affectionately,

(Signed)

“ BONAPARTE.”

In Buonaparte's *expose*, he observed, “ that at St. Domingo, some irregular acts had given alarm for its allegiance ; but an army and a fleet, which were preparing to set

out from the ports of Europe, would soon dissipate all these clouds, and St. Domingo return entirely under the laws of the republic."

The prospect of peace with England, had induced the first consul to turn his thoughts to the recovery of that valuable colony to France. The celebrated general Toussaint Louverture, was one of the last chieftains who had risen into consequence in that devoted island, after a struggle between the blacks and whites, during nearly four years, from 1795 to 1798; and, in which the English, unfortunately, taking part with the French inhabitants, who wished to come under the British yoke, suffered the most dreadful mortality, by sickness more than the sword; and were, at length, compelled to evacuate the island, at a period when, out of the whole number, not more than 1,100 were left alive. The last places they evacuated were the towns of Port-au-Prince and St. Marc, with their respective dependencies, together with the parish of Arcahaye; a measure, which, by a judicious agreement with Toussaint, the English brigadier-general Maitland, happily effected without loss, and withdrew, with the troops, to Mole St. Nicholas. In a word, the final retreat of the British from the island, took place in October 1798; but, between that period and the latter end of 1801, after the signing of the preliminaries of peace with England, the French could never recover their authority in that island; this induced Buonaparte to send a fleet and a powerful army for that purpose.

It was not till the 17th of February, 1802, that the campaign actually commenced. On that day, general Desfourneux's division, advanced to the Limbe; general Hardi's to the Grand Boucamp, and the Mormes; and that under general Rochambeau, against La Januerie, and the wood of L'Amc. A small corps, composed of the garrisons of the Cape, and fort Dauphine, advanced against St. Lauzanne, Le Tron, and Valliere; they had to contend with great disadvantages in the ground, and the attacks of the negroes, concealed among the trees, bordering the vallies: these columns, however, took possession of the positions they were ordered to occupy; viz. those of Plaisance, St. Michel, and Marmelade; this place, the black general, Christophe, defended in person, with 2,400 men. As the blacks published nothing of their proceedings, we

are compelled to take the account of the French general, Leclerc, of which the following is an abstract.

“General Debelles attempted, in vain, to dislodge the rebel general Maurepas, from his position at Gonaives, owing to a very heavy fall of rain, which harassed the French troops, and prevented them from acting. Several other columns of the French army, however, advancing against him, a few days after, Maurepas thought proper to surrender himself, upon the condition held out in general Leclerc’s proclamation, of retaining his rank.

“General Dessalines proved the most dexterous, as well as the most bloody of the rebels. By some rapid manœuvres, he found means to set fire to the Leogane, in spite of general Boudett’s efforts to prevent him. His cruelties, dictated by the orders of Toussaint, had spread terror and detestation of their government through the whole island. ‘Never, at Constantinople,’ adds the French general, ‘were heads cut off, or cruelties inflicted with less remorse, than by Toussaint and his adherents.’

“General Laplume, commanding the south quarter of the island, voluntarily submitted to the French government. By this means, the south was put into their possession, and general Dessalines was forced to retire into the great woods.

“Christophe, after having set fire to Gonaives, was driven from post to post, and at length, forced to take refuge in the mountains.

“A strong position, called Ravine-a-Coulenore, had been occupied by Toussaint, with a chosen body of troops, composed of 500 grenadiers, 1,200 picked men, and 400 dragoons. Every means had been employed to render the position impregnable. General Rochambeau, however, attacked the entrenchments of the enemy with irresistible impetuosity, and, after a desperate conflict, in which Toussaint’s troops fought man to man, Toussaint was forced to evacuate his position, and to retreat in confusion to the Petite Reviere, leaving 800 men dead on the field of battle.

“After this defeat, the inhabitants of the country looked upon Toussaint as ruined ; the cultivators returned to their habitations : his soldiers deserted their colours, and every one looked upon the French as masters of the colony.

“General Leclerc had set out in pursuit of Toussaint. He concludes his letters as follows ;—‘Thus, has the ar-

my of St. Domingo, in a campaign of five days, dispersed the principal bodies of the enemy, and made itself master of their baggage, and a part of their artillery ; desertion has reached the camp of the enemy ; Clervaux, Laplume, Maurepas, and several other black chiefs, or men of colour, have submitted. The plantations of the south are preserved entire, all the Spanish part has completely submitted.' ”

Another letter from the commander in chief, to the minister of marine, dated head-quarters, the 1st March, is as follows :

“ I communicated to you, citizen minister, in my dispatch of the day before yesterday, the success which we had obtained. We are now in pursuit of Toussaint, who has retired into the Mirebelais. General Rochambeau, who has passed the Ester, general Boudett, who has set out from Port-au-Prince, and the columns of the Spanish army, which are marching in that direction, induce me to hope that he cannot long escape us. Of the 500 horse-guards which he had, 300 have already deserted him. Dessalines, the most ferocious of them all, has massacred some whites. Fortunately, we have some time yet before us, ere the great rains and heats commence. All the coasts and the ports of the island are in our possession. Nothing can equal the fatigues of our troops, nothing can equal their indignation against this ferocious banditti.”

In this warfare the infuriated negroes spared neither age nor sex, of those who fell into their hands. All the plantations for many miles round the Cape, exhibited a continued scene of devastation.

In fact, general Leclerc's details of the campaign, even in its commencement, gave a dreadful picture of the nature of the contest, which, horrible to relate ! seemed to be conducted upon an indiscriminate massacre on both sides. General Leclerc gives an account of the capture of the important post of Cretea Pierrot, which was defended with the utmost obstinacy by the rebel army. It appears, that the French force was not strong enough at once to attack this position and protect its former conquests ; so that, while they marched into the interior, Toussaint and Christophe fell upon the country in their rear, burned all the towns of the northern plain, and braved general Boyer in his intrenchments, within a few miles of the Cape. That general,

however, maintained his post, and Toussaint retired to Gonaïves, whither general Rochambeau was sent in pursuit of him. The reinforcements from Havre and Flushing had arrived after these actions ; and admiral Villaret, who announced this circumstance in the island, vainly supposed that it would be sufficient to conquer it. The rebels, most certainly were unable to keep the field ; but the French, weakened by the climate, as well as by the sword, were unable to follow up their advantages, or retain what they had conquered. In another dispatch from general Leclerc, dated head-quarters at the Cape, May 8, he says, " The rebels were beaten and dispersed in every direction, terror filled their camps : destitute of stores, and almost without powder, they were reduced to eat bananas. The arrival of the squadron from Flushing and Havre, gave the finishing blow. Christophe sent to inform me, that he had always been a friend to the whites, whose social qualities and information he had esteemed more highly than any other men of colour ; that all the Europeans who had been in St. Domingo, could bear testimony to his principles and his conduct ; but, that imperious circumstances, which govern, and frequently decide, the conduct of a public character, had not left him power to act as he could have wished ; in a word, that he was anxious to know whether there still remained any hopes of safety for him. I returned, in answer, that with the French people, the door of repentance was always left open ; that the constant habit of the first consul, was to weigh the actions of men, and that a single misdeed, whatever were its consequences, never effaced the remembrance of services formerly rendered ; that, in fact, the information received by me, previous to my departure, was personally favourable to him : and, in short, that if he was willing to place himself at my discretion, he would have reason to be satisfied. He still hesitated. Several columns marched in pursuit of him, and some slight encounters took place. At length, Christophe apprised me, that I had only to send him my orders. Those I sent, were, that he should repair, alone, to the Cape, dismiss all the working negroes, whom he had still with him, and collect all the troops under his command. Every thing was punctually executed ; the submission of Christophe completed the consternation of Toussaint. He employed every means to acquaint me with the afflicting

situation in which he was placed, and with what pain he saw hostilities continued without an object, and without an end. He added, that very unfortunate circumstances had already occasioned many calamities ; but, that, however great the force of the French army, he should still remain sufficiently strong and powerful to burn, ravage, and sell dearly a life, which had once been useful to the mother country. I caused Toussaint to be informed, that he had only to repair to the Cape, and that the hour of pardon might still return. Toussaint did not fail to profit by the permission I had given : he came to see me, entreated to be restored to favour, and took an oath of fidelity to France. I accepted his submission, and ordered him to repair to a plantation near Gonaives, and never to leave it without my permission. I have placed Dessalines at a plantation near St. Marc."

General Leclerc, having thus got Toussaint and Dessalines in his power, talked of attending only to the internal administration of the affairs of the colony ; but for this no opportunity yet offered. It should have been observed, that, after Toussaint submitted, Christophe, and all the black chiefs were dispirited, their troops broken and dispersed ; and, finally, to extinguish, as it were, the last ray of hope, on the 12th of May, Toussaint, with his whole family were arrested, put on board a frigate, and shipped off for France !

The arrest of Toussaint produced such an unfavourable impression, that the French were never able to eradicate it. Christophe and Dessalines, fearing the same treatment, escaped the possibility of it by flight. The negroes, in general, complained they had been deceived : the whole island revolted. The climate, it has been observed, " came to the assistance of these avengers of tyranny and falsehood." Leclerc, himself, fell a victim to it : in fact, the mortality among the French troops, during their short campaign in the West Indies, was beyond all example, in Egypt or any other quarter. Besides the commander in chief, six or seven generals of division were among the dead ; and, in the month of September, only 27,500, including a corps of 4,000 blacks, could be accounted for, and one-fifth of those were in the hospitals ! Even the Moniteur admitted, that a fifth of the troops embarked, had absolutely perished without obtaining the object for which they were sent out : at

the same time, the determination of the consular government, to restore slavery in that quarter of the globe, where its subjects had been, at first, permitted to taste the sweets of liberty, astonished the impartial, and disgusted a much greater number, who had been the warmest admirers of the idea of emancipation.

Guadaloupe was also threatened with a serious insurrection, but the insurgents were reduced by the forces under the French general, Richepanse, with very little loss or opposition. One circumstance only excited the strongest emotions of any produced by this memorable campaign. We have alluded to it before: it was the law passed by the French legislative body on the 17th of May, before it was known that Toussaint had been accused, or was guilty of treachery. By this act *slavery* was re-established in all the French colonies, on the same footing as it was previous to 1789; and the slave trade, and the importation of negroes, were ordered to be renewed, with all the encouragement and advantages which this detestable traffic enjoyed under the old French government! That this conduct on the part of the French was agreeable to England cannot be doubted; but, though an understanding between the two governments, relative to the slaves, has been suspected, there is no document whatever produced, to fix the public opinion upon a subject so apparently mysterious.

The daily extension of Buonaparte's power gave very serious uneasiness to the emperor of Germany, as well as to the English; so much so, that the imperial cabinet, though bound by the treaty of Luneville to admit of the German indemnities, and the secularization of several of the ecclesiastical sovereignties, was, nevertheless, extremely averse to the prosecution of this ungrateful business. The court of Vienna even remonstrated against the recent proceeding of the first consul, in annexing the dutchies of Parma and Placenza to the French republic. It appeared, that by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, the house of Austria claimed the succession to these sovereignties, in case of the failure of issue in the present reigning branch. This, however, was no time to revive old claims, and the reluctance of the emperor to enter upon the German indemnities, probably, urged Buonaparte to hasten them. The French treaty with Russia, it soon appeared, referred to the

business that was to be opened at Ratisbon. The emperor of Russia was called in, in some measure, as one of its guarantees. It was, in some degree, an unhappy precedent, because it was upon the ground of the emperor of Russia's guarantee, that he afterwards interfered, together with the king of Sweden, in order, as they urged, to preserve the Germanic constitution. In a matter where so many jarring interests were implicated, where states and principalities were to be again portioned out; where the lesser powers were to be sacrificed as remunerations to the greater, it was not strange that the proceedings should be rather tardy. Nothing was effectually done till the 17th of July, when the emperor of Germany transmitted a rescript to the diet of Ratisbon, stating, that he had not ceased to occupy his attention with the means of terminating the important business of the peace; but that he found the principal parties had applied, in the mean time, to Russia and France, and solicited the mediation of these powers in order to obtain the indemnities they waited for: that Russia had, consequently, proposed to open negotiations at Paris, in February 1802; and that, soon after, a convention was concluded, *without his participation*, between France and Russia; and it was desired his imperial majesty would direct the definitive arrangement of it, according to the constitution. It was thus that, by the superior policy and influence of Buonaparte, the ancient and stupendous fabric of the Germanic empire was loosened, and, as it were, taken down by piecemeal. However, the emperor, seeing all his authority about to be taken from him, submitted, for the time, with the best grace he could; he, nevertheless, by his persevering objections, obtained terms rather more advantageous than might have been expected, for his royal relative, the grand duke of Tuscany. The newly modified scheme of indemnities, was called a supplement to the plan: according to this, the elector of Mentz obtained the cities of Ratisbon and Wetzlar; the princes of Baden, Wirtemberg, and Hesse Cassel, were made electors; and the king of Great Britain accepted the cession of the bishopric of Osnaburgh, as a compensation for Hildesheim, Corvey, and Hoexter, provided Osnaburgh was given him in perpetuity, as formerly he had only the right of alternate nomination to that bishopric. He now abandoned, on behalf of the cit-

ies of Hamburgh and Bremen, the rights and property he exercised in and over them. But, to raise the interest of France in the German empire, upon the ruins of the house of Austria, the first consul and his majesty the emperor of Russia agreed, that it was at once possible and suitable to preserve in the empire an ecclesiastical elector. They proposed, in consequence, that the arch-chancellor should be transferred to Ratisbon, with the abbey of St. Emeran, Ober Munster, and Neider Munster; preserving his ancient possession of the great bailiwick of Aschaffenburg, on the right of the Main. This new officer, afterwards proved to be a person of great consequence in promoting the interest of the French empire.

In the meanwhile, a dispute between the elector of Bavaria, and his neighbour, the bishop of Passau, had nearly proceeded to blows. The emperor of Germany supported the latter, and took possession of the bishopric, to keep it out of the hands of the elector.

On the 22d of August, the emperor could no longer refrain from causing his commissary, baron Hugel, to express his displeasure to the diet. He flattered the newly conquered Germans, by styling them a *free, independent* nation; and mentioned the emperor's surprise, that they should permit two foreign powers to subscribe to it in its internal concerns. On the 24th, the same complaints were renewed in an imperial rescript; which was answered on the 28th by the French minister, Laforet, who simply enforced the declaration of the two mediating powers. The emperor again expressed his dissatisfaction as to indemnities granted to the grand duke of Tuscany; but, on the 8th of September, the influence of France arose predominant in the diet: the plan of indemnities, after much debate, was accepted, and a *conclusum* voted accordingly. The court of Vienna, still thinking its interests neglected, had instructed baron Hugel, the imperial plenipotentiary, to refuse to ratify the *conclusum*. At length, in the thirtieth sitting of the deputation, on the 22d of November, a final *conclusum* was voted, and which was, ultimately, though with great reluctance, acceded to by the emperor, with very few alterations; and thus, as it was observed, a total, and a violent alteration was made in the map of Germany; the constitution of which suffered a much greater infraction than that effected by the

treaty of Westphalia, and the thirty years war, when the arrogance of the house of Austria had been humbled by the heroic Gustavus Adolphus, and prince Maurice, of Saxony. Thus, by virtue of treaties, and by force of arms, France, under the first consul, had acquired an extent of territory of four thousand five hundred square miles, with an additional population of four millions three hundred and eighty-one thousand, one hundred and sixty-eight inhabitants ; comprehending Savoy, Nice, Avignon, the Austrian Netherlands, Geneva, and all the German possessions on the left bank of the Rhine ; together with Parma, Placentia, Piedmont, and the island of Elba, comprising a population of nearly one million more. Besides this, France exercised an unlimited control over the whole of Italy, the United Provinces, and the republic of Genoa ; while Spain, Portugal, and Prussia, were looked upon much in the same light as allies.

On the 12th of February, 1803, it was announced by the Paris papers, that a conspiracy of a very complicated nature had been discovered. It is said, that 150 men were to assemble in the uniform of guards, to seize Buonaparte at Malmaison, where he was hunting, or wherever else he might be found, and to carry him off. The uniforms were discovered in consequence of the information of one of the conspirators, who is in confinement in the Temple. The chief of the Chouans, Georges, only escaped by a quarter of an hour. The officers of the police, also repaired to the mistress of an inn here. The sign of the conspirators was an English piece of gold. They drew off her glove, and found in it a similar piece of English gold. They then opened her drawers, and found a letter, directing her, on a day specified, to carry to a certain house in the *Rue de Bourgogne au Morris*, twenty bottles of wine, and to ring so many times at the door. The police officers took the bottles, and repaired to the house, where they rang, and found a number of persons, who defended themselves in a very desperate manner. Among those arrested, were Mairn, an intimate of Georges, the Vendean royalist : one Victor, who had been in a former plot, and the cook of Georges. General Moreau has been arrested, and the grand plot has been solemnly announced by the government to the legislative assembly. It was then stated, that general Moreau had

held repeated conferences with Georges, Pichegru, and La Jollais; and the whole of the conspiracy was attributed to the English government.

On the 17th of February, Regnier, the grand judge, made a report to the French government, in which he asserted, that a band of assassins, headed by Georges, and in the pay of England, were still dispersed in La Vendee, Morbihan, and the Cotes du Nord. It was also stated, that an accomplice had been lately seized at Calais, upon his second return from England, and that the papers found on him, proved the criminality of general Moreau. La Jollais was the courier who transmitted the sentiments of Moreau to general Pichegru, when the latter was in London; and, that at a spot between Dieppe and Treport, the brigands of England were brought over in English ships, by captain Wright, and landed, without being observed, and where they found men to receive them, and to conduct them, during the night, from fixed stations on the road, to Paris.

After the judge's report had been read in the tribunate, the brother of general Moreau made an energetic and indignant speech, declaring the whole an infamous calumny, and demanding that his brother might be instantly brought to trial. The senate, however, imputing the speech more to natural affection than sound judgment, transmitted an address of congratulation to Buonaparte, to which, in the conclusion of his reply, he expressed himself, in a manner prophetically, as follows:

"I have long since renounced the hope of enjoying the pleasures of private life: all my days are employed in fulfilling the duties which *my fate*, and the will of the French people, have imposed on me. Heaven will watch over France, and defeat the plots of the wicked. The citizens may be without alarm; my life will last as long as it will be useful to the nation: but I wish the French people to understand, that existence, without their confidence and affection, would be to me without consolation, and would, for them, have no object."

This unsuccessful attempt upon the life of Buonaparte, after he had been acknowledged as the lawful sovereign of France, was considered as too atrocious to be passed over, by the *Moniteur*, without repeated animadversion: that of

March 7, 1804, contained, among others, the following striking observations :

“ Last year, on this day, Europe was at peace ! to-morrow, a year will have revolved since the king of England, dishonouring a reign of forty-two years by the grossest falsehoods, called upon his nation to take up arms—‘ Because,’ said he, in the face of Europe, ‘ the ports of France and Holland are filled with considerable armaments, which threaten the constitution, the independence, and the *religion* of the English people.’ That fallacious message renewed the war : the ministers of the king of England were preparing a new message to celebrate this anniversary : they relied upon being able to announce to parliament, that they had basely caused the first consul to be assassinated. But he who disposes of the life of man, and of the destinies of empires, had otherwise ordained it. The French government is more consolidated ; a new energy has arisen to animate and unite the citizens, and to teach the conspirators that the whole people collects itself and rallies round the chief of the state. The first consul, superior to all events, is more enabled than ever to fulfil the decree of the Fates, and to avenge the rights of nations so frequently violated ; while the king of England——”

At the sight of these striking proofs of the existence of a divine and just Providence, the most sublime pictures of the prophecies of Isaiah present themselves to the mind : we say, with Daniel, *Mene, Tekel, Upharsin*, viz. *Thou art weighed in the balance and found wanting*.

The next subject that occupied the public attention was the seizure of one of the royal family of France ; viz. the duke d’Enghien, at Ettenheim, in the German territory of the elector of Baden ; where a number of emigrants, and other persons, said to have been in the pay of England, had been some time assembled. Notice of this assemblage having been sent to Paris, Buonaparte dispatched M. de Caulincourt, his aid-de-camp, who, arriving on the German side of the Rhine, marched towards Offenbourg, where he ordered the commandant to point out the emigrants in that town, fifteen of whom were immediately arrested, including the duke d’Enghien. No resistance was made by the elector of Baden ; but he immediately dispatched a courier to his son-in-law, the emperor of Russia.

This took place on the 14th of March ; and, in the night between the 21st and 22d, the duke having arrived at Paris, under an escort of fifty *gens d'armes*, he was conveyed to the castle of Vincennes, where he was tried and condemned by a military commission, assembled for the purpose. He was immediately transferred to the wood of Vincennes. He desired to speak with the first consul, but this could not be obtained : he then collected himself, and met death with resolution : he would not suffer his eyes to be bound. Of the nine grenadiers who fired at him, seven bullets took place. He was buried in the garden of the castle, in the thirty-second year of his age.

The early part of the year 1804, was distinguished by an undertaking, which, by right, should only have been recorded in the annals of dulness. A design, which originated with a London bookseller, was thus announced, in the *Monthly Magazine* for March 1804. "The French and Dutch ports are now blocked up more closely than ever ; and a plan has been proposed, by Mr. Richard Philips, and is about to be carried into effect, for filling up those ports, at least in part, with stones, and with the hulks of old vessels ; so as to make it difficult, if not impossible, for even any sort of ships, or small craft, that can be armed for invasion, to make their way out of them, &c. Besides, to block up the ports of France and Holland (if this can indeed be effected by artificial sandbanks and sunken rocks) would reduce them more certainly to an absolute inability of invading our country, rivalling our commerce, or coping with our ships of war, than if we could burn half the towns in France, and slay, without loss to ourselves, one or two hundred thousand fighting men." Suffice it to say, that these fond romantic wishes, though tried, could not be realized ; some of the stone vessels sunk even before they had reached the place of their destination ! The ridicule expressed in the French papers on this occasion, though uncommonly poignant, can scarcely be supposed to have been extravagant or misplaced. But the political hemisphere, in the month of April, 1804, was not less changeable than the natural one : the *respectable* Mr. Addington, as he had been termed by the first consul, was set aside, and a new minister appointed, without the least expression of a wish, either in king or people, that any change should take place ; while the

new minister was the very person whose dismissal from the cabinet, only two years before, by the king, was received with general approbation by the people ! The peers, in particular, by their divisions in the house, shewed that they were determined to compel Mr. Addington to withdraw ; a similar division in the commons persuaded him to resign his post and avoid the disgrace of being turned out. But as the cry of the war party was for a vigorous administration, in a very few days they were highly gratified, by its being generally known that Mr. Pitt was to be the prime minister. This joyful, or, rather, fatal news, was soon followed by the certainty of knowing, that lord Melville (the well-known Mr. Dundas) was to be his colleague, and to be placed at the head of the admiralty. Mr. Addington, however, retired from office, at least, with the character of integrity and a regard for his country. He conciliated all parties ; his manners were neither austere nor forbidding : it was justly said, " He opened the door of the prison, he suffered justice to take its free course ; and if he did not do every thing that a wise and a good man might wish for, his forbearance to continue the practices which disgraced the country, under his predecessor, must entitle him to a very considerable degree of approbation and applause." Of the old ministry, at this period, lord Hawkesbury alone was retained ; lord St. Vincent, left the admiralty to make room for Mr. Dundas.

But, while a change was taking place in the British administration, one much more important was meditated in France. The first consul, on his accession to that dignity, thought it necessary to have it established by the suffrages of the people : but this form was no longer deemed needful to make him emperor ; because, the bodies, under the name of the tribunate, and the conservative senate, represented to him the necessity of his taking upon himself the imperial title : and this change in the name scarcely excited a debate. Carnot only opposed the assumption of the title of emperor, upon the same ground as he resisted the motion for vesting the consular power in Buonaparte, during life ; but Carnot's resistance was very feeble : and this appearance of opposition, served rather to give the business the form of a free debate than otherwise. In fact, it was obvious, at that time, to every man of discernment, that it

was of very little consequence whether the sovereign of France should be addressed by the name of first consul or that of emperor. However, on the 5th of May, the tribunate, as it was said, exercising the right given them by the 29th article of the constitution, passed the following vote :

“That Napoleon Buonaparte, the first consul, be proclaimed emperor of the French, and, in that capacity, be invested with the government of the French republic.

“That the title of emperor, and the imperial power, be made hereditary in his family, in the male line, according to the order of primogeniture.

“That, in introducing into the organization of the constituted authorities, the modifications rendered necessary by the establishment of hereditary power, the equality, the liberty, and the rights of the people, shall be preserved in all their integrity.”

Napoleon being too great a politician to suffer the act of his elevation to pass simply as a civil ceremony, lost no time in giving it all the effect that it could receive from the aid of the religious institutions. His new dignity was, therefore, announced to the French bishops, in letters of a similar tendency, to the following, addressed to the archbishop of Paris. We are the more particular in noticing the religious promises made by Napoleon, on this ground ; that, probably, there never yet was any potentate who had been able to realize either his projects or his promises, in a manner equal to himself : the letter alluded to, runs thus :

“Cousin, the happiness of the French has always been the dearest object of my thoughts, and their glory that of all my labours. Called by Divine Providence, and the constitution of the republic, to the imperial power, I see, in this new order of things, only greater means of assuring, both at home and abroad, the prosperity and dignity of the country. I repose, with confidence, in the powerful succour of the Most High. He will inspire his ministers with the desire of seconding me by all the means in their power. They will enlighten the people by instruction, in preaching to them the love of their duties, obedience to the laws, and the practice of all the christian and civil virtues. They will call down the benedictions of Heaven, upon the nation, and upon the supreme chief of the state. I write you

this letter, that, as soon as you have received it, you will cause *Veni Creator* and *Te Deum*, to be sung in all the churches of your diocese, &c. &c."

Another circular, also, enjoined the clergy to make use of the following form of prayer, which had already been used in the imperial chapel.

"O God, the protector of all kingdoms, and especially of the French empire, grant unto thy servant Napoleon, our emperor, that he may know, and further the wonders of thy power, to the end that he, whom thou hast appointed our sovereign, may be always powerful through thy grace."

On the 28th of May, this event was officially announced by the French *charge d'affaires*, to the diet at Ratisbon, and a similar notification was made to the several foreign courts.

Regulations for the coronation, were also laid down by an imperial decree, dated from the palace of St. Cloud, July 9th.

This ceremony was then appointed to take place in the month of November following, (the 18th Brumaire,) and certain of the public functionaries, from the several departments, together with detachments from the different military corps, were summoned to attend at Paris on the occasion: but the new emperor, and his court, were soon called off by different circumstances, from the enjoyment of these high and dazzling dignities. These new honours, it seems, before they were to be worn, were again to be won in the field. If the duke d'Enghien was dead, his advocates were alive and active. Hitherto, it had been rumoured, that the territory of the elector of Baden, had been violated in the most indecorous manner; and that the duke d'Enghien, had been taken in the territory of Baden, and carried off by surprize; but when this matter came to be investigated, it appeared, that notwithstanding the complaint this prince sent to his son-in-law, the emperor of Russia, he might, in the first place, have arrested the emigrants at Ettenheim, or, if he had chosen so to do, apprized the duke of his danger, and prevented his falling into the hands of the French. In fact, it appeared, that the elector of Baden, received the following letter from M. Talleyrand, dated March 10, addressed to his minister, baron Edelsheim, of which M. de Caulincourt, was the bearer.

"SIR—I had formerly sent you a note, the purport of

which was, to request the arrest of the French emigrants who were assembled at Offenbourg; as the first consul, from successive arrests of the banditti, which the English government has sent to France, and from the result of the trials which have been instituted, has obtained a complete knowledge of the extensive part which the English agents at Offenbourg have had in those horrible plots, which have been devised against his own person, and against the safety of France. He was, at the same time, warned that the duke d'Enghien, and general Dumourier, were at Ettenheim. As it is impossible that they should be in that city without the permission of his electoral highness, the first consul, therefore, could not see, without the deepest concern, that a prince, whom he had distinguished by every mark of friendship, should give an asylum to the most determined enemies of France, and permit them, so tranquilly, to project such unprecedented conspiracies. From these extraordinary occurrences, the first consul has found it necessary to order two small detachments of troops to repair to Offenbourg and Ettenheim, to seize the authors of a crime, the nature of which is such, as to place those, who are proved to have had a share in it, out of the protection of the law of nations. It is general Caulincourt, who is charged with the execution of these orders of the first consul, and who, there is no doubt, will employ every care and attention in fulfilling the same, which his electoral highness can wish. He will have the honour to deliver the letter which I have been directed to write.

M. TALLEYRAND."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE supplies of the island of St. Domingo, at this time in a state of revolution and revolt, being quite cut off by the British cruisers, the French troops, pressed on the land side by the blacks, were compelled to surrender themselves to the British squadron, and, by becoming prisoners, their lives were secured; so that general Rochambeau, and a number of his officers, were taken to England. In consequence of this turn of success, Dessalines, the black chief, found himself strong enough to issue a

proclamation ; which, for boldness of language and brevity of expression, seemed rather the production of France than the islands.

Unfortunately for the people of Hayti, this flaming proclamation proved little more than an empty sound. Dessalines seemed to forget that he had not yet driven the Philistines quite out of the land : the Spaniards, who were still in the French interest, remained in possession of the city and port of St. Domingo ; and it appeared that the French troops, which afterwards occupied that city, under general Ferrand, were too powerful, and too well skilled in the arts of annoyance and defence, to be driven out, even by the sixty thousand warriors, of which the infuriated Dessalines had boasted. He also addressed a proclamation to the Spaniards in that city, and, like a mere braggart, talked of burying the French they had with them under the ruins of that capital, and of pursuing them to their intrenchments.

Dessalines, in the end, proved a worse tyrant than his predecessors : he is said to have retorted upon the Europeans by an universal massacre ; no less than twenty-six thousand whites are said to have been put to death by his order ! he had, also, issued orders, denouncing death against any of his subjects who should marry, or even keep, a white woman ! still, if some few were left alive, they were only as objects for gratifying the passions. With a view also to enjoy his short-lived dignity, he is said to have coined money, established a legion of honour, and styled himself emperor of Hayti. In fact, his conduct, both cruel and absurd, gave occasion to remark, “ That, in preventing the French from reducing that island, the English had done irreparable injury to their own colonies.”

Very different from this tyrant was the more humane, but ill-fated, Toussaint L'Overture ! We have, before, related his surrender to, and seizure by general Leclerc, who sent him to France. On this occasion a sensible writer observed : “ Toussaint gave himself to the conqueror of Marengo ; and what was done with him, God, and a few confidential friends, only know !”

The commencement of the year 1805 was distinguished by a very singular trait in the character of the French emperor.—To some of our English writers this action appeared so extraordinary, that they doubted whether it ought to

be characterized by the peculiar epithet of *presumption*, *insolence*, or *folly*: in fact, he had the temerity to address his Britannic majesty, personally, in a letter written in his own hand; in which he deprecated the further continuance of a war, in the prosecution of which so much useless blood was shed, without any view or object whatever: he said "he thought it no disgrace to take the first step towards conciliation in a moment which afforded the most favourable opportunity to silence the passions and listen only to the sentiments of humanity and reason. He adjured his majesty not to deny himself the pleasure of giving peace to the world, nor to leave that delightful task to his children. He reminded the British monarch, that the latter had gained more, in the last ten years, both in territory and riches, than the whole extent of Europe; that his country was at the highest pitch of prosperity, and could only hope to form another coalition of some powers upon the continent against France; but that the effect of such a measure would be to increase the preponderance and continental greatness of France only. Did England hope to renew the internal troubles of France, or destroy her finances, or deprive her of her colonies? A war would produce no such effects. The French were happy; a flourishing state of agriculture was the support of their finances, and the colonies were but a secondary object: besides, had not the king of England, at that moment, more than he knew how to preserve?" (After some reasoning, of a similar cast, this document concludes with the following words:) "If your majesty would but reflect, you must perceive that the war is without an object and without any presumable result to yourself! Alas! what a melancholy prospect! to cause two nations to fight only for the sake of fighting! The world is sufficiently capacious for our two nations to exist in it; and reason is sufficiently powerful to discover means of reconciling every thing, when the wish for reconciliation exists on both sides. I have, however, fulfilled a sacred duty, and one which is precious to my heart." "Peace," he also observed, "was his first wish, though war had never been inconsistent with his glory. He thought there never was a more fortunate opportunity than the present to make peace: this moment once lost, he asked, what end could

be assigned to a war, which all his efforts would not be able to terminate."

To this pathetic letter the following cold, systematic answer was returned ; not from the hand of the monarch, but from lord Mulgrave, secretary of state for foreign affairs ; dated 14th January, 1805, and addressed to M. Talleyrand :

" His Britannic majesty has received the letter which has been addressed to him by the head of the French government, dated the second of the present month. There is no object which his majesty has more at heart, than to avail himself of the first opportunity to procure again for his subjects the advantages of a peace, founded on bases which may not be incompatible with the permanent security and essential interests of his dominions : his majesty is persuaded that this end can only be attained by arrangements which may, at the same time, provide for the future safety and tranquillity of Europe, and prevent the recurrence of the dangers and calamities in which it is involved. Conformably to this sentiment, his majesty feels it impossible for him to answer more particularly to the overture that has been made him, till he has time to communicate with the powers on the continent, with whom he is engaged in confidential connexions and relations ; and, particularly, the emperor of Russia, who has given the strongest proofs of the wisdom and elevation of the sentiments with which he is animated, and the lively interest which he takes in the safety and independence of the continent. MULGRAVE."

Notwithstanding the state of affairs between England and France had determined Buonaparte to take vigorous measures, he found it necessary to attend to the disturbances which were occasioned by Austria, Russia and Sweden.

On the 23d of September, addressing the senate at Paris, he said, he felt it an urgent duty to appear among them, and make them fully acquainted with his sentiments. " I am," said he, " just leaving my capital, to place myself at the head of the army, to carry speedy succours to my allies. I tremble at the idea of the blood that must be spilt in Europe, but the French name will emerge with renovated and increased lustre. What promises I have made to the French people I have fulfilled, and the French people have more than performed every engagement they have made with me. They will, at a moment so important for their glory and

mine, persist in asserting the name of the *Great People*; a name with which I greeted them in the midst of the fields of death and glory." He concluded in these words: "Frenchmen! your emperor will discharge his duty; my soldiers, and the senate, will also discharge theirs." It is scarcely too much to assert, that no monarch or general was ever better seconded in the field, than Napoleon was after, as well as before, he made this declaration. This effectual aid was quite contrary to the expectation of the English and their allies, who vainly imagined the French people would have been disheartened at the prospect of a fresh war, and such a formidable coalition, as the united forces of Great Britain, Sweden, Russia, and Austria, could not fail to present. Some of the means that produced such an uncommon share of public spirit among the French people it will be our province to notice hereafter, in consequence of those hostilities, which put that public spirit to a proof so severe and difficult, as to have but few examples in history. The means we allude to, are those that always distinguish the great statesman as well as the warrior. Though engaged in preparations for a most formidable campaign, it will appear that the autumn of 1805 was distinguished by an act of toleration in behalf of the poor Vaudois, or Waldenses, who had been the constant objects of persecution, with all the preceding monarchs of France. The fall of the latter, though it introduced a new order of things, more favourable to religious liberty than any that ever existed before, since the popes exercised their usurpations over churches and kingdoms upon the continent, was, nevertheless, deplored by some who call themselves protestants! the subjects, too, of a kingdom which lays a claim to being thought one of the most enlightened in the world, and always professes to be governed by a "*most religious and gracious king!*"

The French army, estimated at about 140,000 men, had in a short time, made very rapid advances towards the scene of action; it moved in six divisions; the first corps, under marshal Bernadotte, commenced its route from Hanover about the same time that the army set out from Boulogne, and reached Wurtzburg, in Franconia, on the 23d of September, by the route of Göttingen and Frankfurt. General Marmont proceeded from Holland to Mentz, at the

head of the second corps, and passed the Rhine at Cassel ; and the third corps, under marshal Davoust, passed the Rhine on the 26th, at Manheim, and advanced by Heidelberg and Neckar Eltz, on the Neckar. The fourth corps, under marshal Soult, passed the Rhine on the same day, by a bridge thrown over at Spires, and advanced towards Heilbrun on the Neckar. Marshal Ney, with the fifth division, likewise crossed that river, by a flying bridge, opposite Durlach, and marched towards Stutgard. The sixth corps, commanded by marshal Lannes, passed the Rhine on the 25th, at Kehl, and advanced towards Louisburgh. Prince Murat, with the reserve of the cavalry, passed the Rhine at Kehl, and took a position, in which he remained several days, before the defiles of the Black Forest ; as it were to make the Austrians believe the French army meant to take that route. On the 30th of September the great park of artillery passed the Rhine at Kehl, and advanced towards Heilbrun.

The Austrian army, consisting of near 90,000 men, under general Maek, had advanced to the defiles of the Black Forest, apparently with the intention of preventing the French army from penetrating those defiles. They had thrown up fortifications on the river Iller, and were strengthening Memmingen and Ulm ; but all these precautionary measures were of little avail, as the French armies had taken another route, which the Austrians never suspected, and were already in their rear. It seems that a division, belonging to marshal Soult, had, by means of a forced march, got possession of a bridge at Donawert, defended by the Austrian regiment of Colleredo, and with the loss of only a few men. By day-break the next morning Murat arrived there also with the French cavalry ; and, having passed the bridge, he caused it to be repaired ; when, in conjunction with the rest of the cavalry, under general Walther, he passed it, and advanced towards the Lech, where he forced the enemy, there posted, to retreat ; Murat remained that night at Rain. On the 6th, marshal Soult, with the two divisions of general Vandamme and Legrand, marched towards Augsburg, while general St. Helaire, with his division, advanced to the same point, by the left bank of the Danube. On the same morning, prince Murat, at the head of several divisions of cavalry, arrived at Wertingen, in order to cut off the communication between Ulm and Augsburg ; here

he encountered a considerable body of the enemy's infantry, supported by four squadrons of Alber's cuirassiers. Marshal Lannes, who, with Oudinot's division, had followed these corps, succeeded in defeating and making a part of this portion of the Austrian army prisoners, together with their artillery and baggage. The Austrians on this occasion lost eight standards, the whole of their cannon, a number of officers, and 4,000 men, rank and file.

This war was full of great and splendid achievements, in which the whole of Europe was deeply interested, and the whole world an anxious spectator. Among the many tremendous engagements and battles may be mentioned as perhaps most memorable, that at Austerlitz on land, and that off cape Trafalgar, in which the distinguished admiral Nelson fell, Oct. 21, 1805.

From the time of the battle of Trafalgar, there was almost incessant fighting in various parts of Europe. A very interesting volume might be filled with the account of the war in Spain. The king Ferdinand 7th had been compelled to give way to Joseph Buonaparte, the brother of the emperor, who was placed on the throne of Spain, not long, however, to enjoy his honours.

The year 1810 had been distinguished by the divorce of the empress Josephine, the lawful wife of Napoleon, on the ground that there was no expectation of an heir from her, for the throne of France. In April of this year, an alliance of marriage was formed by him with the princess Marie Louisa of Austria. The archduke Charles, who had led the Austrian forces with great skill and bravery in several engagements with the French, acted as the proxy of the emperor in this marriage. This connexion brought the French and Austrian courts near together, and had, no doubt, considerable influence on the emperor of Austria, in the important subsequent events of the wars of Europe.

The war in Spain continued with great severity, till the summer of 1813, when was fought the great battle of Vittoria, in which the combined army of England and Spain, under lord Wellington, defeated the French forces under Joseph Buonaparte and marshal Jourdan, and drove them into France.

The war of the peninsula exhibited numerous proofs of

valour and patriotism on the part of Spain and Britain, which have not often found parallels.

While war was raging in the south of Europe, the north was not in less convulsion.

In 1812, Napoleon resolved upon leading his troops into Russia, a determination which furnished a complete evidence of his daring character, and resulted in his overthrow.

The Russians under the wise and prudent management of their monarch, Alexander, acting on the Fabian system, allowed the invaders to penetrate into their country, till finally rising in the majesty of a great people, they sacrificed the immense city of Moscow, where the French had expected to winter. This measure was the worst kind of defeat to Buonaparte ; he saw in it the ruin of his undertakings, and leaving his troops fled with the utmost precipitation, and as a private character, back to Paris, leaving an immense army to be wasted, beaten and destroyed.

The loss of the French here was estimated at 204,400 killed, besides more than 2,000 officers. Upwards of 230,000 prisoners were taken, and the sufferings of the French were beyond expression, terrible. It is said that in the neighbourhood of Wilna, 53,000 bodies had been burned to prevent contagion.

Buonaparte arrived at Paris, at midnight, Dec. 18, 1812, and after remaining there till April following, joined the army again, leaving the empress Marie Louisa in the regency.

Among the transactions of 1813, the battles in and about Leipzig were the most important and interesting. The following account from an eye witness, in a letter to his friend, cannot fail to engage the attention of the reader.

Leipzig, Nov. 3, 1813.

DEAREST FRIEND,

You here see how ready I am to gratify your desire of knowing every thing that passed in my neighbourhood and that befell myself in the eventful days of October. I proceed to the point without farther preamble.

Ever since the arrival of marshal Marmont I have constantly resided at the beautiful country-house of my employer at R***, where I imagined that I might be of some service during the impending events. The general of

brigade Chamois, an honest man, but a severe officer, was at first quartered there.

On the 14th of October every body expected a general engagement near Leipzig. On that day several French corps had arrived in the neighbourhood. The near thunders of the artillery, which began to roll, and the repeated assurances of the French officers that the anniversary of the battles of Ulm and Jena would not be suffered to pass uncelebrated, seemed to confirm this expectation. The king of Saxony entered by the palisadoed gates of the outer city, and Napoleon also soon arrived. The latter came from Duben, and took possession of a bivouac in the open field, not far from the gallows, close to a great watch-fire. I was one of those who hastened to the spot, to obtain a sight of the extraordinary man, little suspecting that a still greater honour awaited me, namely, that of sleeping under the same roof, nay, even of being admitted to a personal interview of some length with him. The state of things at my country-house did not permit me to be long absent. I hastened back, therefore, with all possible expedition. I arrived nearly at the same moment with a French *marechal de logis du palais*, to whom I was obliged to shew every apartment in the house, and who, to my no small dismay, announced "that the emperor would probably lodge there that night." The man, having dispatched his errand in great haste, immediately departed. I communicated the unexpected intelligence to the aid-de-camp of general Pajol, but expressly observed that I had great doubts about it, as the *marechal de logis* himself had not spoken positively. The aid-de-camp appeared very uneasy; and, though I strove to convince him that it must be some time before our distinguished guest could arrive, he immediately packed up, and, notwithstanding all my earnest endeavours to detain him, he was gone with his servant in a few minutes. Seldom have I witnessed such an extraordinary degree of anxiety as this man shewed while preparing for his departure.

The *marechal de logis* soon returned, and again inspected all the apartments, and even the smallest closets, more minutely than before. He announced that *sa majeste* would certainly take up his head-quarters here, and asked for a piece of chalk, to mark each room with the names of the distinguished personages by whom they were to be occu-

pied. When he had shewn me the apartment destined for the emperor, he desired that a fire might be immediately lighted in it, as his majesty was very fond of warmth. The bustle soon began; the guards appeared, and occupied the house and all the avenues. Many officers of rank, with numerous attendants, arrived; and six of the emperor's cooks were soon busily engaged in the kitchen. Thus I was soon surrounded on all sides with imperial splendour, and might consider myself for the moment as its centre. I might possibly have felt no small degree of vanity on the occasion, had I not been every instant reminded that the part which I should have to act would be that of obedience alone. I heard the beating of drums at a distance, which, as I presently learned, announced that I was shortly to descend into a very subordinate station. It proclaimed the arrival of the emperor, who came on horseback in a grey surtout. Behind him rode the duke of Vicenza, (Caulincourt,) who, since the death of marshal Duroc, has succeeded to his office. When they had come up to the house, the master of the horse sprung from his steed with a lightness and agility which I should not have expected in such a raw-boned, stiff-looking gentleman, and immediately held that of the emperor.

His majesty had scarcely reached his apartments when I was hastily sought and called for. You may easily conceive my astonishment and perturbation when I was told that the emperor desired to speak with me immediately. Now, in such a state of things, I had not once thought for several days of putting on my Sunday clothes; but, to say nothing of this, my mind was still less prepared for an interview with a hero, the mere sight of whom was enough to bow me down to the very ground. In this emergency courage alone could be of any service, and I rallied my spirits as well as the short notice would permit. I had done nothing amiss—at least that I knew of—and had performed my duty as *maitre d'hotel* to the best of my ability. After a general had taken charge of me, I mustered my whole stock of rhetorical flourishes, best calculated to win the favour of a mighty emperor. The general conducted me through a crowd of aids-de-camp and officers of all ranks. They took but little notice of such an insignificant being, and indeed scarcely deigned to bestow a look upon me.

My conductor opened the door, and I entered with a heart throbbing violently. The emperor had pulled off his sur-tout, and had no body with him. On the long table was spread a map of prodigious size. Rustan, the Mameluke, who has so long been falsely reported to be dead, was, as I afterwards learned, in the next room. My presence of mind was all gone again when I came to be introduced to the emperor; and he must certainly have perceived by my looks that I was not a little confused. I was just going to begin the harangue which I had studied with such pains, and to stammer out something or other about the high and unexpected felicity of being presented to the most powerful, the most celebrated, and the most sincerely beloved monarch in the world, when he relieved me at once from my dilemma. He addressed me in French, speaking very quick, but distinctly, to the following effect:

Nap. Are you the master of this house?

I. No, please your majesty, only a servant.

N. Where is the owner?

I. He is in the city. He is advanced in years; and under the present circumstances has quitted his house, leaving me to take care of it as well as I can.

N. What is your master?

I. He is in business, sire.

N. In what line?

I. He is a banker.

N. (*Laughing.*) Oho! then he is worth a plum, (*unmillionaire,*) I suppose?

I. Begging your majesty's pardon, indeed he is not.

N. Well then, perhaps he may be worth two?

I. Would to God I could answer your majesty in the affirmative.

N. You lend money, I presume?

I. Formerly we did, sire; but now we are glad to borrow.

N. Yes, yes, I dare say you do a little in that way yet. What interest do you charge?

I. We used to charge from 4 to 5 per cent; now we would willingly give from 8 to 10.

N. To whom were you used to lend money?

I. To interior tradesmen and manufacturers.

N. You discount bills too, I suppose?

I. Formerly, sire, we did ; now we can neither discount nor get any discounted.

N. How is business with you ?

I. At present, your majesty, there is none doing.

N. How so ?

I. Because all trade is totally at a stand.

N. But have you not your fair just now ?

I. Yes, but it is so only in name.

N. Why ?

I. As all communication has for a considerable time been suspended, and the roads are unsafe for goods, neither sellers nor buyers will run the risk of coming ; and, besides, the greatest scarcity of money prevails in this country.

N. (*Taking much snuff.*) So, so ! What is the name of your employer ?

I. I mentioned his name.

N. Is he married ?

I. Yes, sire.

N. Has he any children ?

I. He has, and they are married too.

N. In what capacity are you employed by him ?

I. As a clerk.

N. Then you have a cashier too, I suppose ?

I. Yes, sire, at your service.

N. What wages do you receive ?

I. I mentioned a sum that I thought fit.

He now motioned with his hand, and I retired with a low bow. During the whole conversation the emperor was in very good humour, laughed frequently, and took a great deal of snuff. After the interview, on coming out of the room, I appeared a totally different and highly important person to all those who a quarter of an hour before had not deigned to take the slightest notice of me. Both officers and domestics now shewed me the greatest respect. The emperor lodged in the first floor ; his favourite Mameluke, an uncommonly handsome man, was constantly about his person. The second floor was occupied by the prince of Neufchatel, who had a very sickly appearance, and the duke of Bassano, the emperor's secretary. On the ground floor a front room was converted into a *sallon au service*. Here were marshals Oudinot, Mortier, Ney, Reynier, with a great number of generals, aids-de-camp, and other offi-

cers in waiting, who lay at night upon straw, crowded as close as herrings in a barrel. In the left wing lodged the duke of Vicenza, master of the horse; and above him the physician to the emperor, whose name, I think, was M. Yvan. The right wing was occupied by the *officiers du palais*. The smallest room was turned into the bed-chamber of a general; and every corner was so filled, that the servants and other attendants were obliged to sleep on the kitchen floor. Upon my remonstrance to the valet of the *merechal du palais* I was allowed to keep a small apartment for my own use, and thought to guard myself against unwelcome intruders by inscribing with chalk my high rank—*maitre de la maison*—in large letters upon the door. At first the new-comers passed respectfully before my little cell, and durst scarcely venture to peep in at the door; but it was not long before French curiosity overleaped this written barrier. For some time this place served my people and several neighbours in the village as a protecting asylum at night.

The keys of the hay-loft and barns I was commanded to deliver to the emperor's *piqueur*. I earnestly entreated him to be as sparing of our stores as possible, supporting this request with a bottle of wine—which, under the present circumstance, was no contemptible present. He knew how to appreciate it, and immediately gave me a proof of his gratitude. He took me aside, and whispered in my ear, "As long as the emperor is here you are safe; but the moment he is gone—and nobody can tell how soon that may be—you will be completely stripped by the guards; the officers themselves will then shew no mercy. You had best endeavour to obtain a safeguard, for which you must apply to the duke of Vicenza."

This advice was not thrown away upon me: I immediately begged to speak with the *grand ecuyer*. I explained my business as delicately as possible, and he with great good humour promised to comply with my request. Determined to strike while the iron was hot, I soon afterwards repeated my application in writing.

After the emperor's arrival there was no such thing as a moment's rest for me. Gladly would I have exchanged my high function, which placed me upon an equal footing with the first officers of the French court, for a night's tranquil

slumber. *M. maitre de la maison* was every moment called for. As for shaving, changing linen, brushing clothes—that was quite out of the question. His guests had remarked his good will, and they imagined that his ability was capable of keeping pace with it. Luckily it never came into my head, whilst invested with my high dignity, to look into a glass, otherwise I should certainly not have known myself again, and Diogenes would have appeared a beau in comparison. As to danger of life, or personal ill-treatment, I was under no apprehension: for who would have presumed to lay hands on so important a personage who was every moment wanted, and whose place it would have been absolutely impossible to supply?—I was much less concerned about all this than about the means of saving the property of my employer, as far as lay in my power. The danger of having every thing destroyed was very great.

The French guards had kindled a large fire at a small distance from the house. The wind being high, drove not only sparks but great flakes of fire towards it. The whole court-yard was covered with straw, which was liable every moment to set us all in flames. I represented this circumstance to an officer of high rank, and observed that the emperor himself would be exposed to very great risk; on which he ordered a grenadier belonging to the guards to go and direct it to be put out immediately. This man, an excessively grim fellow, refused without ceremony to carry the order. “They are my comrades,” said he: “it is cold—they must have a fire, and dare not go too far off—I cannot desire them to put it out.”—What was to be done? I bethought myself of the duke of Vicenza, and applied directly to him. My representations produced the desired effect. He gave orders, and in a quarter of an hour the fire was out. I was equally fortunate in saving a building situated near the house. It had been but lately constructed and fitted up. The young guard were on the point of pulling it down, with the intention of carrying the wood to their bivouacs. Their design was instantly prevented, and one single piece of timber only was destroyed. A guard was sent to the place, to defend it from all farther attacks. It had been burned down only last summer, through the carelessness of some French dragoons.

Late at night the king of Naples came with his retinue from Stotteritz. He was attended by a black Othello, who seems to serve him in the same capacity as Rustan does his brother-in-law Napoleon.

By day-break the emperor started with all his retinue, and took the road to Wolkwitz. The king of Naples had already set out for the same place. All was quiet during the day, and towards the night the emperor returned. Several French officers had asserted, the preceding night, that a general engagement would certainly take place on the 15th. How imperfectly they were acquainted with the state of things, I could perceive from many of their expressions. In their opinion the armies of the allies were already as good as annihilated. By the emperor's masterly manœuvres, the Russians and Swedes—the latter, by the bye, had not yet come up—were according to them completely cut off from the Austrians. A *courier de l'empereur* was honest enough to tell me plumply that they had done nothing all day but look at one another, but that there would be so much the warmer work on the morrow.

Very early indeed on the morning of the 16th, I remarked preparations for the final departure of the emperor. The *maitre d'hotel* desired a bill of the provisions furnished him. I had already made out one, but that would not do. It was necessary that the articles should be arranged under particular heads, and a distinct account of each given in. I ran short of time, patience, and paper. All excuses were unavailing, and there was no time to be lost. I readily perceived that all the elegance required in a merchant's counting-house would not be expected here, and accordingly dispensed with many little formalities. I wrote upon the first paper that came to hand, and my bills were the most miserable scraps that ever were seen. The amount was immediately paid. Finding that the *maitre d'hotel* had not the least notion that it would be but reasonable to make some remuneration to the servants, who had been so assiduous in their attendance, I was uncivil enough to remind him of it. He then desired me to give him a receipt for 200 francs, which I immediately divided among the domestics; though he remarked that I ought to give each but three or four, at most. I also made out a distinct account for the forage, but this was not paid.

At length arrived the long wished for *sauvegarde*. It consisted of three *gens d'armes d'elite*, who had a written order from the baron de Lennep, *ecuyer* to the emperor, by virtue of which they were to defend my house and property from all depredations. I immediately took a copy of this important protection, and nailed it upon the door. The house was gradually evacuated; I was soon left alone with my guards, and sincerely rejoiced that Heaven had sent me such honest fellows. It was impossible, indeed, to be quite easy; the thunders of the cannon rolled more and more awfully, and I had frequent visits from soldiers. My brave *gens d'armes*, however, drove them all away, and I never applied in vain when I besought them to assist a neighbour in distress. I shewed my gratitude as far as lay in my power, and at least took care that they wanted for nothing.

One of these three men went into the city, and returned in haste, bringing the news of a great victory. "*Vive l'empereur!*" cried he; "*la bataille est gagnée.*" When I enquired the particulars, he related, in the most confident manner, that an Austrian prince had been taken, with 30,000 men, and that they were already singing *Te Deum* in the city. This story seemed extremely improbable to me, as the cannonade was at that moment rather approaching than receding from us. I expressed my doubts of the fact, and told him that the battle could not possibly be yet decided. The man, however, would not give up the point, but insisted that the intelligence was official. When I asked him if he had seen the captive prince and the 30,000 Austrians, as they must certainly have been brought into the city, he frankly replied that he had not. Several persons from the town had seen no more of them than he, so that I could give a shrewd guess what degree of credit was due to the story.

In the afternoon of the 17th, marshal Ney suddenly appeared at the door with a numerous retinue, and without ceremony took up his quarters in the house. I saw nothing of the emperor all that day, nor did any circumstance worthy of notice occur. On the 18th, at three in the morning, Napoleon came quite unexpectedly in a carriage. He went immediately to marshal Ney, with whom he remained in conversation about an hour. He then hastened

away again, and was soon followed by the marshal, whose servants staid behind. His post must have been a very warm one ; for before noon he sent for two fresh horses, and a third was fetched in the afternoon. The cannonade grew more violent, and gradually approached nearer. I became more and more convinced that the pompous story of the victory the day before was a mere gasconade. So early as twelve o'clock things seemed to be taking a very disastrous turn for the French. About this time they began to fall back very fast upon the city. Shouts of *vive l'empereur!* suddenly resounded from thousands of voices, and at this cry I saw the weary soldiers turn about and advance. Appearances nevertheless became still more alarming. The balls from the cannon of the allies already fell very near us. One of them indeed was rude enough to kill a cow scarcely five paces from me, and to wound a Pole.

The French all this time could talk of nothing but victories, with which fortune had, most unfortunately, rendered them but too familiar. One messenger of victory followed upon the heels of another. "General Thielemann," cried an aid-de-camp, "has just been taken, with 6,000 men; and the emperor ordered him to be instantly shot on the field of battle."—The most violent abuse was poured forth upon the Saxons, and I now learned that great part of them had gone over to the allies in the midst of the engagement. Heartily as I rejoiced at the circumstance, I nevertheless joined the French officers in their execrations. The concourse kept increasing ; the wounded arrived in troops. Towards evening every thing attested that the French were very closely pressed. A servant came at full gallop to inform us that marshal Ney might shortly be expected, and that he was wounded. The whole house was instantly in an uproar. *Mon Dieu, mon Dieu!*—cried one to another—*le prince est blesse—quel malheur!* Soon after the marshal himself arrived ; he was on foot and supported by an aid-de-camp. Vinegar was hastily called for. The marshal had been wounded in the arm by a cannon-ball, and the pain was so acute that he could not bear the motion of riding.

The houses in the village were every where plundered, and the inhabitants kept coming in to solicit assistance. I represented their distress to an aid-de-camp, who only

shrugged his shoulders, and gave the miserable consolation that it was now impossible for him to put a stop to the evil.

At length, early on the 19th, we appeared likely to get rid in good earnest of the monster by which we had been so dreadfully tormented. All the French hurried in disorder to the city, and our *sauvegarde* also made preparations to depart. Already did I again behold in imagination the pikes of the Cossacks. All the subsequent events followed in rapid succession. My *gens d'armes* were scarcely gone when a very brisk fire of sharp-shooters commenced in our neighbourhood. In a few minutes Pomeranian infantry poured from behind through the garden into the house. They immediately proceeded, without stopping, to the city. It was only for a few minutes that I could observe with a glass the confused retreat of the French. Joy at the long wished-for arrival of our countrymen and deliverers soon called me away. The galling yoke was now shaken off, probably for ever. I bade a hearty welcome to the brave soldiers; and, as I saw several wounded brought in, I hastened to afford them all the assistance in my power. I may ascribe to my unwearied assiduity the preservation of the life of lieutenant M**, a Swedish officer, who was dangerously wounded; and by means of it I had likewise the satisfaction to save the arm of the Prussian captain Von B**, which, but for that, would certainly have required amputation. On the other hand, all my exertions in behalf of the Swedish major Von Doblen proved unavailing; I had the mortification to see him expire.

I was incessantly engaged with my wounded patients, while more numerous bodies of troops continued to hasten towards the town. We now thought ourselves fortunate in being already in the rear of the victorious army; but the universal cry was, "What will become of poor Leipzig?" which was at this moment most furiously assaulted. Various officers of distinction kept dropping in. The Swedish adjutant-general Guldenskiold arrived with the captive general Reynier, who alighted and took up his abode in the apartment in which the emperor had lodged. He was followed by the Prussian colonel Von Zastrow, a most amiable man, and soon after the Prussian general Von Bulow arrived with his suite.

Our stock of provisions was almost entirely consumed.

and you may conceive my vexation at being unable, with the best will in the world, to treat our ardently wished-for guests in a suitable manner. I had long been obliged to endure hunger myself, and to take it as an especial favour if the French cooks and valets had the generosity to allow me a small portion of the victuals with which they were supplied.

At the very moment when marshal Ney arrived, a fire had broken out in the neighbourhood, through the carelessness of the French. I hastened to the spot, to render assistance, if possible. It was particularly fortunate, considering the violence of the wind, and the want of means to extinguish the flames, that only two houses were destroyed. The fire-engines and utensils provided for such purposes, had been carried off for fuel to the bivouacs. Such of the inhabitants of the village as had not run away, just now kept close in their houses, not daring to venture abroad. A number of unfeeling Frenchmen stood about gazing at the fire, without moving a finger towards extinguishing it. I called out to them to lend a hand to check the progress of the conflagration. A scornful burst of laughter was the only reply : the scoundrels would not stir, and absolutely could not contain their joy whenever the flames burned more furiously than usual. At the same time I witnessed proceedings, of which the wildest savage would not have been guilty. I saw these same wretches, who, a few days afterwards, voraciously devoured before my face the flesh of dead horses, and even human carcasses, wantonly trample bread, already so great a rarity, like brute beasts in the dirt.

For six or eight nights I had not been able to get a moment's sleep or rest, so that at last I reeled about like one drunk or stupid. The only wonder is that my health was not impaired by these super-human exertions. My dress and general appearance were frightful. When the wounded Swedish officer was brought in, he of course wanted a change of linen. Not a shirt was to be procured any where, and I cheerfully gave him that which I had on my back ; so that I was obliged to go without one myself for near three days. Several times during the stay of the French I had assisted in extinguishing fires : even the presence of marshal Ney was not sufficient to make the French in our houses at all careful in the use of fire. Those thoughtless

fellows took the first combustible that fell into their hands, and lighted themselves about with it in every corner. They ran with burning wisps of straw among large piles of trusses, and this was often done in the house where the marshal lay, without its being possible to prevent the practice. A French aid-de-camp, in my presence, took fifty segars out of my bureau, just at the moment when I was too busy to hinder him. Whether he likewise helped himself to some fine cravats which lay near them, and which I afterwards missed, I will not pretend to say.

I have suffered a little, you see ; but yet I have fortunately escaped the thousands of danges in which I was incessantly involved. Never while I live shall I forget those days. That same divine Providence which was so manifestly displayed in that arduous conflict, and which crowned the efforts of the powers allied in a sacred cause with so glorious and so signal a victory, evidently extended its care to me. After the battle of Jena, in 1806, Napoleon declared in our city that Leipzig was the most dangerous of his enemies. Little did he imagine that it would once prove so in a very different sense from that which he attached to those words. Here the arm of the Most High arrested his victorious career, of which no mortal eye could have foreseen the termination. I would not exchange the glory—which I may justly assume—the glory of having saved the property of my worthy employer, as far as lay in my power, during those tremendous days of havoc and devastation, for the laurel wreath with which French adulation attempts most unseasonably to entwine the brow of the imperial commander, on account of the battle of Leipzig.

[The loss of Buonaparte in this affair was rated at 80,000 men and 180 pieces of cannon.]

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE affairs of Buonaparte after the transactions near Leipzig, grew worse and worse through the residue of the year. In November Holland underwent a counter revolution, restored the prince of Orange, and joined the coalition of the northern powers. So severe were the reverses

of Napoleon, and so unpopular had he become in many parts of France, that Alexander of Russia at the head of his troops, and the allied sovereigns, took up his march into France, and on the last day of March, 1814, entered Paris, which was surrendered by capitulation.

The conservative senate then declared that the emperor had forfeited his right to rule the nation, and the people were absolved from their allegiance. Buonaparte then renounced the claims of himself and heirs to the thrones of France and Italy, and immediate measures were taken for his departure for Elba, the place selected for his residence. The people of Paris invited the Bourbon family to return, and Louis XVIII. made his public entry into the city on the 3d of May.

As an account of Napoleon's journey from Fontainebleau to Frejus, on his way to Elba, furnishes many particulars illustrative of his character, the reader will be gratified in perusing the following narrative from the report of the commissioners appointed as his convoy.

*Original report of the commission appointed to convoy
Napoleon Buonaparte to the island of Elba.*

Having in pursuance of our instructions arrived at Fontainebleau on the evening of the 16th of April, we were invited by generals Bertrand and Drouet to take up our residence in the palace. As soon as mass was finished, we commissioners, viz. the Austrian general Koller, the Russian general Schuwaloff, the English colonel Campbell, and myself, together with major count Clam Martiniz, who attended general Koller as first adjutant, were presented to Napoleon in a private audience. Our reception was rather cool, and his confusion and indignation were evident at discovering a commissary of the king of Prussia, whom in his former plans he seemed to intimate a design to strike out of the list of sovereigns. Amongst other matters, he inquired of the commissioners if there were any Prussian troops on the route we were destined to take; and upon my answering in the negative, he said, "But in that case you need not give yourself the trouble of accompanying me." I replied, that far from being a trouble, I should rather consider it an honour. He still, however, persisted in his opinion, and, as I observed, that as the king had been pleased to appoint me to the office, it was an honour I could not

and would not renounce, he left me with a countenance expressive of displeasure and confusion. His reception of colonel Campbell was more friendly. He kindly inquired after his wounds, of the battles wherein he had obtained his insignia, and from hence took occasion to speak of the war in Spain, passed many encomiums on the duke of Wellington, and made inquiries relative to his habits, character, &c. Having been informed that colonel Campbell was a Scotchman, he turned the conversation to the poems of Ossian, and praised them for the noble and warlike spirit which they breathed. Our departure had been fixed for to-day, (June 17th,) but the emperor found a pretext for postponing it, by declaring he wished rather to take the road of Briare, Raonne, Lyon, Valence, and Avignon, than that of Auxerre, Lyon, Grenoble, Gap, and Digne. This request, which was made known to us by letter through general Bertrand, was founded upon the following reasons: that agreeably to the treaty, the emperor might be allowed to be escorted by his own guards, and these were stationed upon the road pointed out by him; a road which, besides, was better provided with horses, and had not been the seat of war: and, secondly, that his equipage which had arrived from Orleans had already been directed thither, and awaited him at Briare, where he likewise wished to take another carriage for himself, and unpack many conveniences he had not then at hand. We were therefore obliged to obtain from Paris orders for postponing our journey, and general Caulincourt, who had taken leave of the emperor and was returning thither, was charged with our despatches. At the emperor's desire, we likewise required a copy of the order transmitted by the French government to the commandant of Elba, relative to the emperor's reception, without which he declared he would not expose himself to the danger or possibility of not being received. On the 18th, at night, we received permission to accede to the emperor's wishes as to our route, together with a transcript of the order for evacuating the island of Elba. This, however, in his opinion, was not expressed sufficiently explicit; he was fearful the artillery of the island would be taken away, and he should then be entirely deprived of all means of defence. It therefore became necessary to send it back again to Paris: but general Koller having assured the emperor every thing

should be arranged according to his wishes, our departure was consequently fixed for the 20th. In the mean time Napoleon had despatched nearly a hundred baggage-wagons with money, furniture, bronzes, pictures, statues, and books, and perhaps on this account alone had prolonged his stay at Fontainebleau.

On the 19th he sent for the duke of Bassano, and said to him, "You are reproached with having always prevented me from making peace; what say you to it?" Bassano replied, "Your majesty knows very well that he has never consulted me, and that he has always acted according to his own wisdom, and without taking advice from those who surrounded him. It was not then for me to give him any, but only to obey his orders." "I knew it well," replied the emperor, quite contented; "I only speak of the subject to let you know the opinion that is entertained of you."—Generals Belliard, Ornano, Petit, Dejean, and Korsakowski, colonels Montesquiou, Bussy, and De la Place, the chamberlain Turenne, and the minister Bassano, were the persons of most consideration who remained with him till his departure. They then returned to Paris. Generals Bertrand and Drouet alone accompanied and remained with him. General Lefebvre Desnouettes went forward as far as Nivernais, in order to await and take leave of him there.

On the 20th of April, at ten o'clock in the morning, the carriages were drawn up for departure in the court-yard of Fontainebleau, when the emperor sent for general Koller, and addressed him in these words:—"I have reflected on what remains for me to do. I have determined not to depart. The allies are not faithful to their engagements towards me. I then may also revoke my abdication, which was only conditional. This night more than one thousand addresses have reached me, in which I am conjured to resume the reins of government. I have renounced my right to the crown only to spare France the horrors of a civil war, never having had any object but her glory and happiness. But knowing at present the discontent occasioned by the measures of the new government, and seeing in what manner the promises made to me have been fulfilled, I can explain to my guards the motives which induce me to revoke my abdication, and I shall see whether the hearts of my old soldiers can be torn from me. It is true that the number

of troops on which I can count will not exceed thirty thousand men, but I could very easily augment it in a few days to one hundred and thirty thousand. I might, however, without compromising my honour, say to my guards, that regarding only the tranquillity and happiness of the country, I renounced all my rights, and exhort them to attend, like me, to the wishes of the nation." General Koller, who hitherto had not been able to speak a word, seized the moment of a short pause after this last observation, to tell him that his noble abdication was the most distinguished of all his actions, since, by this proof of his patriotism, he had set the crown upon all his former great and noble deeds.

Amongst many other singular remarks made by the emperor during this conversation, the following is particularly worthy of notice. Having observed, he well knew many persons had censured him for not having destroyed himself, he added, "I see nothing great in putting an end to one's life like a desperate gamester who has lost his whole fortune. There is much more courage in surviving our misfortunes when unmerited. That I have not feared death I have proved on many occasions, and latterly again at Arcis-sur-Aube, where four horses were killed under me." He then continued, "I have no reproach to make myself. I have not been an usurper, for I accepted the crown only on the unanimous wish of the whole nation. But Louis XVIII. has usurped it, being called to the throne only by a vile senate, more than ten of whose members have voted for the death of Louis XVI. I never was the cause of any one's destruction. As for war, that's different. But I was obliged to make war, because the nation wished that I should aggrandize France."

After general Koller had quitted him, he sent for colonel Campbell, conversed with him about his plan of seeking protection in England, admitted general Schuwaloff and myself to a short audience, in which the conversation ran only upon indifferent topics—and about twelve o'clock descended into the court-yard of the palace, where the grenadiers of his guard were drawn up. He here collected around him the officers and sergeants of the guard, to deliver the celebrated speech so universally known, and which he did with so much dignity and warmth, that all who stood near were moved by it. After he had embraced general

Petit, and kissed the standard, he exclaimed with a broken voice, "Farewell, my children, my best wishes will always accompany you. Remember me!"—extended his hand to be kissed by the officers standing around him, and then with his grand marshal ascended his carriage.

General Drouet took the lead in a close carriage; immediately after the emperor came general Koller; general Schuwaloff followed next; then colonel Campbell; and lastly myself: each in his own caleshe. My adjutant was followed by general Schuwaloff's, and eight carriages with the emperor's suite closed the procession. A loud "Vive l'empereur!" attended his departure, and received him in every town and place through which our route lay; whilst we, on the other hand, were obliged to endure the painful task of hearing from the mob their discontent at our presence and the object of our journey, and which, for the most part was couched in the lowest terms of abuse. Attended by his guards as far as Briare, we here passed the night. From this place five of his carriages were immediately dispatched forwards, the scarcity of horses having rendered it necessary that we should proceed in two divisions. The emperor, however, we commissaries, and his four other carriages, did not quit Briare till about twelve o'clock of the 21st, and not till after he had held a long conversation with general Koller, which he commenced with these words: "Well! you heard yesterday my speech to the old guard: it pleased you, and you saw the effect it produced. It is thus it is necessary to speak to them, and to act with them; and if Louis XVIII. does not follow this example, he will never do any thing with French soldiers." He then passed many encomiums on the emperor Alexander, for his friendship in offering him an establishment in Russia; a kindness which he with more right, but fruitlessly, had expected from his father-in-law. He likewise declared that he never could forgive the king of Prussia for having given the first example of revolt; and asked, how it had been possible to awaken this spirit in the Prussian nation? In other respects, however, he felt disposed to do them perfect justice. From this he again turned to the danger which Austria was exposed to from such a neighbour, whose good understanding with Russia so intimately united these two states, that they properly formed but one.

With colonel Campbell, whom he this day detained to breakfast, he spoke much about the Spanish war, and praised beyond measure the English nation and lord Wellington. He then entered into conversation with the orderly in waiting, colonel De la Place, on the subject of the last war.

On the same morning close to Avignon, where the relays of horses awaited us, the emperor found a crowd assembled, who with tumultuous cries saluted him with "Long live the king ! success to the allies ! down with the tyrant, the rascal, the scoundrel !" and still coarser abuse. In compliance with our instructions we did every thing in our power to lighten the evil, but could only partially effect it ; and Napoleon endured with the greatest patience every term of abuse uttered against him. The people however, as they constantly greeted us with "Success to the allies our deliverers, the generous emperor of Russia, and the good king William !" likewise conceived we should not deny them the liberty of venting their indignation against the man who had made them so unhappy, and even had the intention of rendering them still more miserable. They wanted to compel the emperor's postillion to cry "Vive le Roi !" and one fellow who was armed drew a sword to cut at him. He was however prevented, and the horses being speedily changed, the carriage rolled so rapidly forward that we did not overtake it till a quarter of a league on the other side of Avignon. In every village, and from all kinds of people whom the emperor met on the road, he was received in a similar manner as at Avignon. In Orgon, the next place where we changed horses, the conduct of the populace was most outrageous. Exactly on the spot where the horses were taken out, a gallows was erected, on which a figure in French uniform sprinkled with blood was suspended. On its breast it bore a paper with this inscription :

"Such, soon or late, will be the lot of the tyrant !"

The rabble pressed around his carriage, and elevated themselves on both sides in order to look and cast in their abuse. The emperor pressed into a corner, looked pale and disfigured, and as at length through our assistance he was happily brought off and had proceeded a quarter of a league from Orgon, he changed his dress in his carriage, put on a plain blue great coat and a round hat with a white cockade,

mounted a post horse, and rode on before as a courier. As it was some time ere we overtook him, we were perfectly ignorant of his being no longer in the carriage, and in St. Canat, where the horses were again changed, we still believed him to be in the greatest danger ; for the people attempted to break open the doors, which however were fortunately locked. Had they succeeded they would certainly have destroyed general Bertrand, who sat there alone. We prevented it however, and in spite of the stones which the people cast against the carriage, Bertrand happily escaped. Characteristic is the prayer with which some of the women assailed me : " For the love of God, deliver him up to us to be pillaged : he has deserved it so richly from you as well as us, that nothing is more just than our demand."

Having overtaken the emperor's carriage about a half a league on the other side of Orgon, it shortly afterwards entered a miserable public house, lying on the road-side, called La Calade. We followed it, and here first learnt Buonaparte's disguise, who in this attire had arrived here, accompanied by one courier only. His suite from the generals to the scullions, were decorated with white cockades, which he appeared previously to have provided himself with. His valet-de-chambre, who came to meet us, begged we would conduct ourselves towards the emperor as if he were colonel Campbell, for whom on his arrival he had passed himself. We entered, and found in a kind of chamber this former ruler of the world, buried in thought, sitting with his head supported by his hand. I did not immediately recognise him. He started up as he heard somebody approaching. His countenance was bedewed with tears. He made a sign, that I might not discover him, requested me to sit down beside him, and as long as the landlady was in the room, conversed upon indifferent subjects. As soon, however, as she was gone out, he resumed his former position.

Napoleon, who now pretended to be an Austrian colonel, dressed himself in the uniform of general Koller, with the order of Theresa, wore my camp cap, and cast over his shoulders general Schuwaloff's mantle. After the allies had thus equipped him, the carriages drove up, and we were obliged to march to them through the other rooms of the inn in a certain order, which had been previously tried in our

own chamber. The procession was headed by general Drouet: then came as emperor general Schuwaloff's adjutant; upon this general Koller, the emperor, general Schuwaloff, and lastly myself, to whom the honour of forming the rear guard was assigned. The remainder of the imperial suite united themselves with us as we passed by, and thus we walked through the gaping multitude, who vainly endeavoured to distinguish their tyrant amongst us. Schuwaloff's adjutant, major Olewieff, placed himself in Napoleon's carriage, and the latter sat beside general Koller in his caleche. A few gens d'armes who had arrived from Aix scattered the rabble, and the procession now proceeded happily forwards. Wherever we appeared, we still found people who saluted their former ruler with "Long live the king!" and some terms of abuse against himself; but nothing like violence was attempted. Still, however, he was constantly in alarm.

In Maximin he breakfasted with us, and having learnt that the sub-prefect of Aix was there, he ordered him into his presence, and received him with these words: "You ought to blush at seeing me in an Austrian uniform, which I have been obliged to assume to protect me against the Provencals. I came among you with full confidence, while I might have brought with me 6000 men of my guard; and I find only a frantic rabble who put my life in danger. They are a wicked race, these Provencals; they have committed all sorts of horrors and crimes in the revolution, and are now quite ready to begin again: but when there is question of fighting with courage, then they are poltroons. Never has Provence furnished me with a single regiment that I had reason to be satisfied with. But just as they appear against me to-day, they will be perhaps to-morrow against Louis XVIII. They think they will have no more taxes to pay, but when they will find that the contributions will only have changed their name, they will be as prone to revolution as in the year 1790. You have not then been able to restrain this populace!"

The prefect, who did not know if, and in what manner, he should excuse himself in our presence, only said, "I am quite confused, sire!" The emperor then asked him if the *droits reunis* were already taken off, and if the *levee en masse* would have encountered many difficulties here? The pre-

fect assured him this could have been still less effected since he had not been able to bring together one half of the conscription. Napoleon now renewed his abuse of the Provencals in the most inconsiderate manner, and dismissed the prefect.

To us he again spoke of Louis XVIII. and said he would never effect any thing with the French nation if he treated them with too much forbearance. He would from necessity be obliged to lay large imposts upon them, and hence cause himself to be immediately hated. He likewise told us that "eighteen years before, he had marched through this place with some thousand men, to liberate two royalists who were to have been executed for wearing the white cockade. In spite, however, of the fury of the populace with which he had had to contend, he fortunately saved them, and to-day (he continued) would that man be murdered by this same populace who should refuse to wear a white cockade—so contradictory and vacillating are they in every thing they do." Having learnt that two squadrons of Austrian hussars were stationed at Luc, an order was sent at his request to the commanders, to await our arrival there, in order to escort the emperor to Frejus. This tranquillized him extremely. Still however he retained his rigid incognito, and was quite rejoiced at general Koller's being taken for the emperor in a conversation he held with a French officer, a native of Corsica. Koller was obliged to put various questions to him, which Napoleon whispered in his ear, and which led the officer to conclude it must be the emperor who spoke with him, since no Austrian general could have such an intimate knowledge of Corsica. As Napoleon observed this, he begged the general would on no account undeceive him. Shortly after mid-day we reached a country-house in the neighbourhood of Luc, belonging to the legislator Charles, where the princess Pauline Borghese, the emperor's sister, was residing. We understood she was exceedingly shocked at seeing her brother in his disguise; but immediately determined upon accompanying him to Elba. Upon receiving intelligence a few days before of the recent extraordinary events, she would at first on no account credit them; and at last convinced of their truth, she inquired, "But in that case my brother is dead?" Being assured that on the contrary he

had signed his abdication, that he had obtained a pension for himself, and was already on his way to Elba, she exclaimed, "How, he has been able to survive all that? This is the worst part of the news you have given me." She then sank down in hysteric fits, which were much more severe than usual. Her interview with her brother to-day had also much injured her; but notwithstanding this, she set off the same evening for Nuits, from whence she had but two miles to travel on the following day to Frejus. Previous to her departure she sent us an invitation to wait upon her. We were presented by general Bertrand. She conversed with us with that grace so peculiar to her, and said she hoped to have the pleasure of seeing us again the next day in Frejus.

We left this on the morning of the 27th, and arrived at Frejus early. The Austrian troops who had escorted us hither remained here, and did the duty of the place till the emperor's departure. From the moment Napoleon saw himself in safety from the Austrian escort, he again resumed his uniform, and sat in his own carriage. In Luc he likewise found his other carriage which had gone on before from Briare, and had arrived here a day before us. They had passed through Avignon on Sunday the 24th of April, and had only saved themselves from the danger of being maltreated by the mob, and seeing the carriage plundered, by taking from the latter, as well as their own clothes, every mark of the imperial eagle and name, sticking up a multitude of white cockades and lilies, scattering handfuls of money among the populace, and crying, "Long live the king! long live Louis XVIII.! down with the emperor! down with Nicholas!" They had likewise found means of communicating this scene to their master, so that he was already informed of what awaited him prior to his arrival in Avignon.

In Luc several persons in the emperor's service quitted him, and it was probably one of these who in the night of the 28th stole a chest, containing 60,000 francs, from the maitre d'hotel, with which the expenses of the journey were to be discharged.

In Frejus we found colonel Campbell, who had brought round from Marseilles the Undaunted, an English frigate, commanded by captain Usher, for the purpose of escorting

our distinguished companion, and securing his ship from any attack. In pursuance of the treaty this latter was to have been a corvette, and it was now discovered that the French government had only sent a brig, (*L'Inconstant*,) which was to receive their deposed ruler, and remain his property. A French frigate, in addition, was destined as escort. Napoleon was extremely displeased at receiving a brig instead of a corvette, and we not unwillingly saw that he had formed the determination of shipping himself on board of the English frigate, and making no use of the brig. He said, "If the government had known what was due to itself and to him who had been its chief, it would have sent him a three-decker, and not a rotten old brig, on board of which it would be beneath his dignity to go." The captain of the French frigate, offended at the emperor's disdain, sailed with his ship and the brig back again to Toulon, and the emperor now invited us commissaries, count Klamm, and captain Usher to dinner. Here again he was all the emperor. He conversed for the most part with captain Usher, and as the latter understood but little French, Campbell was obliged to officiate as interpreter. He told us with singular frankness, the plans he had still contemplated of aggrandizing France at our expense; how he intended to have made Hamburgh a second Antwerp, and to have remodelled the harbour of Cuxhaven, in a similar manner to that of Cherbourg, &c. He even communicated to us what was hitherto completely unknown; the Elbe had precisely the same depth with the Scheldt, and like this was completely adapted for laying a road at its embouchure. He had already prepared a project for introducing into his empire a particular conscription for his marine, in the same manner as for his land forces. Had it not been for the misfortunes he had encountered by land, every means had stood at his command for the execution of this great plan, and within two years, with such enormous powers at his command, he could not have failed in reducing England, for against her alone had all his previous efforts been directed. He could now speak of these plans, since his present situation rendered the execution of them totally impossible. In his zeal he became so animated that he spoke of his fleet in Toulon, Brest, and Antwerp; of his army in Hamburgh; of his mortars lying at Hieres with

which he could cast bombs above three thousand paces ; and of all as if they were yet his own.

After dinner he took leave of general Schuwaloff and me, thanked us for the personal services we had rendered him, and in general terms spoke of the French government with indignation and contempt. To general Koller in particular he complained of the wrongs he had experienced. They had left him only a single service of silver plate, only six dozen of shirts ; had retained, contrary to the agreement, the remainder of his plate and linen ; had acted precisely in the same manner with regard to a quantity of furniture, which he had purchased with his own money, and among other things had refused to acknowledge his exclusive right to the regent-diamond, although he had redeemed it with four millions of his own private property from the Jews in Berlin, to whom the French government had pawned it. He begged Koller would communicate these grievances to his own and the Russian emperor, in order that they might be relieved, and he might have justice done him. On the evening of this day we signed two notes to the governor of Elba, requesting him, in compliance with the order of his government, to deliver up the island to the emperor Napoleon, together with all the artillery and ammunition then upon it.

Early on the morning of the 28th he was to have departed, and had ordered his equipage to be shipped ; he pretended, however, to be indisposed, and did not quit his chamber till about nine o'clock in the evening, after having previously requested to speak with Schuwaloff and me. As the general was already driven forwards towards the harbour, he took leave of me alone ; thanked me again for the personal services I had rendered him, but did not commission me with any message for the king. General Schuwaloff went on board the frigate after the emperor was there, and of him he begged " to present the homage of his respects to the emperor Alexander." The Austrian hussars attended him with all military honours to the harbour St. Raphor, where fourteen years before he had landed on his return from Egypt. On board the frigate he was received with a discharge of four-and-twenty pieces of cannon. In two hours the frigate got under weigh. General Koller, colonel Campbell, count Kiamm, and general Koller's ad-

jutant, attended the emperor to the island of Elba. His own suite consisted of generals Bertrand and Drouet, the Polish major Germanofsky, two fourriers du palais, one officer payeur, mons. Pyrrhus, one physician, mons. Fourreau, two secretaries, one maitre d'hotel, one valet-de-chambre, two cooks, and six servants. General Bertrand was much affected. General Drouet evinced more firmness and stability. The emperor had wished to present him with 100,000 francs, but he declined it, with the assurance that if he accepted the money he could not attend him, since his conduct would then be considered as having originated solely in selfishness. General Schuwaloff and I left Frejus the same night, the former directly for Paris, and I by way of Toulon and Marseilles.

Nothing remarkable happened on the passage. The emperor remained in perfect health. On the 3d of May, at six o'clock in the evening, the vessel came to anchor in the roads of Porto-Ferrajo.

Several officers of the allies immediately went on shore with the grand marshal of the palace and general count Drouet. It was necessary to notify the commandant of Buonaparte's arrival. The night was to be employed in preparations for his reception, and in convoking the civil and military authorities, who were the next morning to attend his *entree*. But scarcely was his arrival known when the generals, the army and navy officers, the magistrates, the clergy, and the principal inhabitants, flocked on board the vessel still lying in the roads, and were all admitted.

The next day, at four in the morning, Buonaparte received a deputation of the authorities. A detachment of troops then carried on shore the standard of the island, sent by the new monarch. It was a white ground with a red bar across it, and three yellow bees. At noon the inauguration took place; the standard was hoisted on the fort of L'Etoile, and saluted by all the artillery of the city and batterries. The English frigate saluted in turn; and the vessels of different nations lying in the port did the same.

At one o'clock the emperor went on shore with all his suite, and made his solemn entrance. He was saluted by the forts with a hundred guns, and by the British frigate with twenty-four. He was dressed in a coat richly embroidered with silver, over which he wore a plain blue surtout,

In his hat he bore the cockade of the island of Elba, which, like that of Genoa, is red in the centre, on a white ground. The only additions made in it by the emperor were three golden bees on the white ground.

At his entrance into the city, the troops were all under arms. The emperor was received by the authorities, the clergy, the notables of the city, and a crowd of inhabitants.

The simple undisguised joy of the young Elban girls, and the enthusiasm manifested by the common fishermen, who for a long time had been in the habit of listening to our soldiers when they recounted the memorable exploits and victories of Napoleon, were for the monarch an affecting and consolatory spectacle. A personage of so great renown confidently seeking, as a place of refuge, the bosom of an island almost unknown; the calmness and gaiety with which his majesty sometimes conversed with the meanest of the citizens, all contributed to throw them into ecstasies which sometimes gave the guards occasion of alarm. They pressed round their beloved sovereign; they almost bore him along; and the hero, moved by their affection, lost even the mournful recollection of his former power and friends, so recently passed away; and was consoled and reconciled to existence by the reflection that he was about to reign over a nation whose hearts were patterns of simplicity and faithfulness.

The mayor, after a short harangue, presented his majesty with the keys of the city; and then proceeded with him to the cathedral, where a *Te Deum* was chanted. On leaving the church, the emperor was conducted to the mayoralty, which was temporarily fitted up for his reception. Here he was again complimented by the authorities and the superior officers. He conversed for some time with them on the manners of the inhabitants, the resources of the island, and the means of amelioration that could be the most promptly and efficaciously employed. There was afterwards a grand dinner, at which he presided with so much taste, and with manners so frank and affable, that he won every heart. In the evening the city and port were spontaneously illuminated.

Early in the morning of next day the following proclamation was issued:

“Inhabitants of the island of Elba! The vicissitudes of human life have brought amongst you the emperor Na-

poleon ; and by his own choice he is become your sovereign. Before he came within your walls, your new and august monarch addressed me in the following words, which I hasten to communicate to you, as they are the pledge of your future happiness.

“ General, I have sacrificed my rights to the welfare of my country ; and I have reserved to myself the property and sovereignty of Elba. All the powers have consented to this arrangement. Make known to the inhabitants this state of things, and the choice I made of their island, in consideration of the suavity of their manners and the mildness of their climate. Tell them that they shall be objects of my continual care.....”

“ Inhabitants of the island of Elba ! these expressions require no comment ; they will accomplish your destiny. The emperor’s opinion of you was just. I owe you this acknowledgement, and I freely make it.

“ Inhabitants of the island of Elba, I soon shall be far absent from you ; this absence will be painful to me, because I love you sincerely ; but the idea that you are happy will soften the pain of parting, and wherever Providence may direct my steps, I shall cherish the remembrance of your virtues. DELESME, general of brigade.

“ *Porto-Ferrajo, May 4, 1814.*”

For several days afterwards, his majesty was employed in different arrangements for his establishment ; and works were ordered, commenced, and carried on with vigour. His majesty made several excursions in the environs of Porto-Ferrajo and Porto-Longone, to examine the state of agriculture and the nature of the resources by which the poorest classes of the people might be benefitted. He visited the quarries, and examined with great attention the iron mines which constitute the chief riches of the island, and which, some years since, he had made use of to endow the legion of honour.

Almost every day, whatever was the state of the weather, Buonaparte took a ride to his country-house of St. Martin, in the environs of Porto-Ferrajo. There, as well as in the city, the emperor did not disdain to examine the interior regulations of his house, caused regular accounts to be handed to him, and entered into even the most trifling details of domestic or rural economy.

Whatever might have been the ostensible occupations of Napoleon on the island, certain it is, that his mind and his arrangements had a return to France always in view. Conjecture hardly breathed the idea that was working in the emperor's mind. On the 26th of February, about one o'clock in the afternoon, all the guards received orders to embark. Until that moment no one knew of this intention. An embargo had been laid for several days previous, on the vessels in the port.

The joy of the military can easily be imagined when they learned that their destination was France. They jumped, they ran about, and embraced each other like persons deprived of their senses. The emperor's mother, and his sister, the princess Pauline, contemplated, with eyes moistened by tears, from the windows of the palace, the interesting spectacle of so many brave united hearts, animated by a single mind, transported by a single thought ; and they expressed, by all the signs they were able to make visible at so great a distance, how much they were affected by the noble devotion of these faithful adherents to the cause of the emperor ; but, in their noble enthusiasm, the fearless phalanx only answered by repeated cries of *Paris, or death !*

By four in the afternoon the whole were on board. The little flotilla consisted of the brig *Inconstant*, of 26 guns, the bomb-vessels *Etoile* and *Caroline*, and four feluccas. Four hundred men of the old guard, chasseurs and gunners, were embarked on board the brig ; two hundred infantry, one hundred Polish light-horse, and a battalion consisting of two hundred flankers, were put on board the other vessels. The inhabitants lined the shores, and made the air resound with cries of *Long live the emperor*.

A part of the inhabitants already knew that they were about to lose their benefactor, their father. General Lapi, chamberlain to his majesty, was appointed governor of the island, and published the following proclamation :

“ Inhabitants of the island of Elba ! our august sovereign, recalled by providence to the career of glory, has been induced to leave your island, of which he has left me in command. The administration will be composed of a junto of six inhabitants, and the defence of the fortress is committed to your devotion and bravery.

“ I am about to depart from the island of Elba (said he.)

“I am much pleased with the conduct of its inhabitants. I leave to them the defence of this country, to which I attach the highest value. I cannot give them a greater proof of my confidence than by leaving under their protection my mother and my sister. The members of the junta, and the inhabitants generally, may rely on my good offices, and special protection.”

At eight in the evening his majesty went on board the brig. Counts Bertrand, Drouet, and the superior officer who had accompanied him to the island, embarked in the *Inconstant*. Upon his majesty's arrival on board, a gun was fired as a signal for departure, and they immediately set sail.

The limits of the present work, will not allow a detail of the particulars which occurred to the emperor on his way to the capital of France. At various points he was met and welcomed with the loudest acclamations of joy by the soldiery. His army accumulated as he advanced, and on the 21st of March, 1815, he was in possession of Paris.

The return of Napoleon put all the forces of the allies in active motion. Europe presented a scene of great perturbation, and preparations were rapidly made for one of the most important battles ever fought. Buonaparte having collected all his strength, set out to meet the army of the allies on the 2d of May. The battle of Waterloo, in Flanders, which decided the fate of Napoleon, commenced the 17th of June. At the close of the 18th Napoleon saw clearly that his hopes must perish, and, as was usual with him when threatened with great difficulty, began to prepare for his own escape.

The French army, when it crossed the Sambre, on the 15th of June, amounted to 115,000 men. It lost 36,940.

Between four and five, on the morning of the 19th, the emperor arrived at Charleroi. He ordered the provision equipages, which had been left in the rear of the town, to be immediately conveyed to Philippeville and Avesnes, and from thence to Laon; he then set out for Philippeville, where he arrived at ten in the morning. He once more dispatched orders to marshal Grouchy to retreat on Laon, by the way of Rhetel: and directed all the commanders of the fortresses on the Meuse to hold themselves prepared against an attack, and to defend themselves to the

very last extremity. Generals Rapp, Lecourbe, and Lamarque, were ordered to proceed with all their troops, by forced marches, to Paris, and to adopt every possible means of accelerating their movements, such as conveying the infantry in carriages, and making requisitions for horses to drive the artillery.

Meanwhile the wreck of the army was repassing the Sambre by the bridges of Marchiennes, Charleroi, and Chatelet. From Gosselies the mass of fugitives of the first and second corps, who had passed at Marchiennes, directed their course along that side to repass the river. The imperial guard and the sixth corps retired on Charleroi. It became more and more difficult to rally the army, as it was now retreating on several different points. Prince Jerome proceeded to Avesnes to assemble the corps which might take that direction.

Having dispatched all the orders, which circumstances rendered necessary, the emperor quitted Philippeville at two in the afternoon, leaving marshal Soult to assemble the grand head quarters, and the corps which might proceed to that place ; the emperor then repaired to Laon, whence he dispatched aid-de-camp Flahaut to Avesnes, to obtain new information. General Flahaut found at Avesnes a portion of the guard, and of the army which prince Jerome had already assembled. Aid-de-camp De Jean was sent to Guise, for the double purpose of examining that place, and rallying the troops who had taken that direction. Aid-de-camp Bussy was left at Laon, to make preparations for the army which was about to assemble round that advantageous position. Napoleon then proceeded, with all possible speed, to Paris, accompanied by the duke de Bassano, the marshal du Palais, Bertrand, and his aids-de-camp Drouet, Labedoyere, Bernard, and Gourgaud. At Paris he intended to remain forty-eight hours, in order to anticipate any political commotion, to which the news of the disaster might tend to give rise ; to take the most prompt measures for completing arrangements for the defence of the capital ; to prepare the public mind for the grand crisis, in which France was about to be placed ; to direct on Laon all the troops that could be withdrawn from the depots and fortified places : in a word, to adopt every measure for the execution of the second plan, to which France was now reduced. Napoleon's intention was immediately to rejoin his army at Laon.

From the report made by marshal Grouchy it appeared, that on the 18th, at the very moment when he received orders to march on St. Lambert, he was warmly engaged : though master of a part of Wavres, he had not yet been able to debouch from thence. General Gerard, at the head of the fourth corps, had been seriously wounded in his attempt to force the passage of the river at Bielge. In this state of things, the marshal directed Pajol's corps of light cavalry, and three divisions of infantry, to pass the Dyle at Limale, and to march against Bulow. This movement succeeded, and the opposite heights were carried ; but night had set in, and the great battle was concluded. At break of day, on the 19th, the Prussians attacked in their turn, but they were repulsed at every point. General Penne, a most valuable officer, was killed in carrying the village of Bielge.

The heights of Wavres were likewise carried, and marshal Grouchy was preparing to march on Brussels, when he received notice of the loss of the battle of Waterloo, and orders to retreat, which the marshal immediately did in two columns, the one proceeding directly from Temploux on Namur, and the other by the high road from Charleroi to Namur.

On the 24th the whole of Grouchy's corps arrived at Rhetel, and on the 26th joined the army at Laon.

The loss of the battle of Waterloo placed France in a very critical situation ; but the precautionary measures, which the emperor had adopted previous to the commencement of the campaign, still presented resources of every kind. The remains of the French army, after having passed the Sambre and rallied at different points, were marched to Laon. On the 26th of June, the army which had assembled at that place, amounted to upwards of sixty-five thousand men. Only a few thousand troops had dispersed through the interior.

Buonaparte found it necessary to make the utmost expedition to avoid falling into the hands of the allies. He fled with the utmost precipitation and reached Paris on the 21st, when he assembled a council of ministers, at which the measures proper to be adopted in the existing situation of affairs were discussed. It was determined to declare Paris in a state of siege ; to convoke the chambers at Tours,

and to remove the seat of government to that city ; to give marshal Davoust the command of Paris ; and to appoint general Clausel minister of war. The decrees for these different objects were undergoing the routine of official preparation, and orders were already issued for doubling the number of the tirailleurs of the national guard, and giving them arms in the course of the day. It was proposed that the emperor himself, in his travelling dress, without any retinue, should carry these resolutions to the chambers, and a minute was even making of the speech it was thought fit he should deliver, when information was brought, that the greatest agitation had manifested itself in the chamber of deputies. About noon a message was received, by which it appeared, that that chamber proclaimed itself permanent, no longer recognised the imperial authority, and declared it treason against the country to propose to suspend its sittings. M. de Lafayette appeared to come forward at the head of a party, whose real intentions were not known. Some moments after the council learned, that the chamber of peers, following the example of the deputies, had also placed itself in revolt against the emperor.

These two events suspended all proceedings ; it was no longer judged proper, that the emperor should appear among the deputies of the nation, after they had declared themselves in insurrection against his authority. The ministers only repaired to the chambers, where they announced the arrival of the emperor at Paris, and the situation of affairs.

In the evening, the plan of the leaders of the two chambers developed itself ; it had ramifications even in the ministry, and the duke of Otranto seemed to be one of the principal springs of its movements. The most disastrous news soon circulated every where. It was said, that marshal Grouchy had not eight thousand men with him ; that all the army was destroyed. The enemies of Napoleon, the friends of the king, the partizans of the foreign powers, were all in motion, and each party endeavoured to increase the number of its proselytes in the national guard.

At night the ministers had a conference with a deputation from each of the chambers. The spirit of the chambers then displayed itself completely. The danger of the country no longer consisted merely in its foreign enemies, and in the approach of the victorious armies of Waterloo, but

principally in its internal divisions. There remained then only three courses for the emperor to adopt.

The first was to proceed at day-break, on the 22d, to the palace of the Tuilleries ; to assemble there all the troops of the line then in the capital ; the six thousand men of the imperial guard, the federals, the national guard, the council of state, and the ministers ; and to adjourn the chambers. The sentiments of the troops and the federals, who would have influenced all the people of Paris, were to be relied on, as were also those of a part of the national guard ; for a considerable portion of that body was not well disposed. There was reason to expect some opposition to the adjournment of the chambers, since they had declared, that they would not recognise any power that might propose to suspend their sittings. No serious resistance was, however, to be apprehended. The chamber of deputies would have been compelled to return within its constitutional boundaries, and the adjournment would have taken place.

The second course was to flatter the faction that governed the chambers, and to allow it to assume the authority of the state, and to negotiate directly with the allied sovereigns, by sending deputies to them without the intervention of the emperor. But was it not evident, that the leaders of the chambers, who must have felt themselves compromised by the hostility they had displayed against the emperor, and have feared that he would emancipate himself from their mediation as soon as he should collect a powerful force, would only endeavour to embarrass the acts of the administration ? The chambers would naturally view with suspicion the measures, which the imperious circumstances of such a crisis prescribed ; in a word, instead of affording any assistance, they would have paralysed all the means of defence which yet remained. It was, besides, easy to foresee, that the allied sovereigns, steady in their policy, would flatter the deputies of the chambers, and, certain of being no longer interrupted in their schemes of conquest and spoliation, if they could get rid of the only man still capable of opposing their designs, would promise every thing upon condition that Napoleon should be removed from the helm of the state. To have adopted this course would then have been to revert at the end of five or six days to the same

means in their
ces ; in fine, devote themselves
the empire.

The emperor, in fixing his choice, deliberated
the first and the third course, and he adopted the latter.

All the struggles of Napoleon to retain the empire in his hands, were ineffectual. His proclamations were no longer heard, nor his wishes regarded. The allies were determined to restore Louis XVIII. and on the 3d of July, Paris again capitulated, and the king re-entered on the 8th. Buonaparte seeing all his prospects blasted, and full of apprehension for his personal safety, determined to throw himself into the protection of the English. On the 16th of July he went on board the English ship *Bellerophon*, and gave himself up to captain Maitland the commander, and the next day sailed for England. From the *Bellerophon* he was removed to the *Northumberland*, and sailed for the island of St. Helena, the place selected for his confinement, August 7th.

This mode of treatment, however censured by the friends of the fallen emperor, was unquestionably for the peace of Europe ; and he who had paid no more regard to his own engagements in a former abdication than we have seen, was not to be trusted again. He landed at St. Helena October 3d. Here probably will end the achievements of one of the most successful usurpers of whom history gives any account.

Date Due

923.144 · N216A

315002

D02465183T



Duke University Libraries